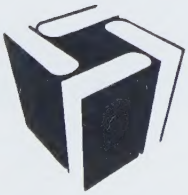
URBAN SOCIOLOGY

URBAN SOCIOLOGY

Nels Anderson, Eduard C. Lindeman



URBAN SOCIOLOGY

Nels Anderson, Eduard C. Lindeman

ISBN : 8888007228380

First Published 1928, reprint 2019 in India by

Facsimile Publisher
12 Pragati Market
Ashok Vihar, Ph-2
Delhi-110052, India
books@facsimilepublisher.com
www.facsimilepublisher.com

URBAN SOCIOLOGY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/isbn_8888007228380

URBAN SOCIOLOGY

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF URBAN COMMUNITIES

BY

NELS ANDERSON

Instructor in Sociology,
Seth Low College of Columbia University

AND

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

Professor of Social Philosophy,
New York School of Social Work

NEW YORK
ALFRED · A · KNOPF
1928

To

ERNEST W. BURGESS, *Sociologist*

and

BRUCE BLIVEN, *Journalist*

Students of the City

PREFACE

This book aims to fulfil but one purpose, namely, to meet the needs of students engaged in the study of the sociology of urban communities. It purports to be a text-book designed for classroom use. The so-called "general reader," who is often included in the prospective purview of text-book writers, has been wholly neglected. It is our belief that a text should be fashioned as a tool to be used by teachers and students, and that this central function should not be interfered with by vague appeals to a general public.

Most of the factual materials regarding the urban phenomenon which has so complicated Western Civilization are still to be gathered. Indeed researches, surveys, and studies now in process are so great in number and variety as to give assurance that a text-book containing nothing but facts may soon be written. It does not follow, however, that such a text will be more usable or fruitful in the hands of students. We assume that education does not consist in the accumulation of facts, but rather in the ability to test and use facts. With this educational theory in mind we have sought to include statistical material only insofar as it tended to lead the student to the analysis of a problem. Consequently the projects and questions for discussion which follow each chapter are more than perfunctory; in fact, from the point of view of pedagogical method, the problems suggested are probably of greater value than the facts and descriptions which form the body of the text. The facts included are, we hope, relatively trustworthy, but urban facts are changing so rapidly that at best they can be hardly more than approximations. The student of urban sociology is, we take it, preparing to meet certain problems; when

the problem arises he must be his own fact-gatherer and fact-evaluator. His classroom study does not solve his problems, but merely points the way or lays the intellectual foundations.

The four queries with which this book concerns itself are: (a) What are the structural characteristics of the modern urban community? How does it appear as a social form? (b) What functions are performed by its inhabitants? In what sense are these activities sociologically significant? (c) In terms of social end-products, what sorts of personalities and groups characterize urban life? In what sense are these social ends departures from the rural cultural pattern? (d) What forms of social control are evoked by the impact of the urban environment? These questions determine the divisions of the volume. Obviously there are other questions of equal import which need to be asked regarding urban development, but again our selection has been made in terms of the student's needs, capacities, and study-plan. As the text now stands, it might be used as the basis for the work of a full semester, and the presumption is that this represents approximately the amount of time which students of sociology might find available for the specialized study of urban phenomena.

A few words must be said regarding the social theory which underlies both the title and the content of this book. The term "urban sociology" is patently a misnomer and is used merely for purposes of brevity; there can be a science of urban phenomena, but there cannot be an urban science. Interpreted, the term means "the sociology of urban communities," which is more explicit but also more cumbersome as a title. Insofar as these chapters find their scientific rationale in any specific hypothesis, this might be called the functional theory of society, or rather the theory of a functional society. That theory postulates a society in which significant social problems and data are found on the level of functional activities rather than in chance sociable intercourse. From this point of view there is no generalized society but merely numerous societal groupings, each clustered about some activity or function; and the social process which emerges and seems to us to

belong specifically to the science of sociology is the sum-total of interactions between these groupings. The activities within the groupings belong to social psychology.

Works of collaboration need their own special explanations. We, the joint authors of this book, were born in Michigan and are the descendants of Scandinavian immigrants. One of us has hitherto specialized in the study of transient social types, hoboes, and city slums; the other was, until the late War, primarily concerned with the affairs of rural communities, villages, and small towns. We had never met until our vocational and sociological paths crossed in New York five years ago. (The fact that we came out of immigrant, rural-community backgrounds in the Middle West and discovered each other in the wilderness of Manhattan is, perhaps, symbolic of that social mobility with which this volume deals.) The notion of a text-book dealing with the sociological aspects of urban life first occurred to one of the authors; his initial proposal implied, not thoroughgoing collaboration on the part of the other, but merely assistance on those portions of the text which dealt with rural contrasts. It soon became evident, however, that our two sets of experiences and viewpoints were complementary and supplementary in so many directions that nothing short of complete coöperation would meet the needs of the situation. The book is no longer divided into *mine* and *yours;* it has become a mutual *ours*. We realize, of course, that the result is not the same as it would have been if either of us had worked alone; and we also realize that collaboration of this sort disturbs the flow and continuity of thought-sequences, as well as style of writing. On the other hand, we believe that the concurrences herein achieved are more significant than are our individual points of view; the unintegrated differences remain as lively components of our continuing fellowship.

Our indebtedness to others is manifest in the numerous references both in the body of the text and in the sections presenting projects and questions for discussion. We earnestly hope that we have made no gross errors of transcription or interpretation, and

we hereby express our gratitude to all whose words have been appropriated. We must, however, be more specific in expressing our thankfulness and obligation to Martha Anderson, who has performed the arduous task of reducing our contributions to sequential form. From the beginning she has acted as a catalytic third collaborator, integrating differences, correcting diction, and adding meaning to words and phrases.

NELS ANDERSON
EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

NEW YORK CITY
January, 1928

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION xvii

Social Realities of Urban Life — The Rôle of Science — The Nature of Urban Sociology — Statistics and the City — The Metropolitan Economy — Other Angles of Study — Engineer, Moralist, Artist — The City Defined by Function — Studying the City — Slumming and Research

PART I. THE STRUCTURE OF THE CITY

I. THE CITY: A GEOGRAPHICAL FACT . . . 4

The Physical Environment — Human Geography — Urban Sites — City-building and the Road — Cities Favored by Nature — The Human Factor in City-building — Geography and Urban Functions — Geography and Urban Growth

II. THE CITY: AN ECOLOGICAL FACT. . . . 28

Society as a Symbiosis — The Ecological Point of View — Disturbances to the Balance — Mobility and Competition for Space — Migrations and Successions — Barriers to Movement — The Ecological Method

III. THE CITY AND ITS HINTERLAND 46

The Metropolitan Area — Types of Hinterlands — Residential Suburbs — The Industrial Suburb — Suburban Functional Areas — Production Zones and the Market — Resources of a City — Rural Depletion — Urban-Rural Investigation

IV. OCCUPATIONAL AREAS 67

Natural Divisions of the City — The Area as Friction Center — The Area as Functional Unit — "Downtown" Areas — "Downtown" Functions — First Zone of Occupation — The Outer Zones — Variations in Zone Divisions — Immigrant and Racial Areas — Areas Reflect

the Life Within — "Atmosphere" Areas — The Organic Trend

PART II. FUNCTIONS OF THE CITY

V. SUPPLYING THE CITY 94
Urban-Rural Interdependence — City Control of Sources of Supply — Roundabout Consumption — Feeding a City — A New York Standard of Living — Food and Culture — "Streams" of Supply — Food Supply and City Growth — Over-urbanization and the Food Supply

VI. WASTE AND SALVAGE 114
Waste in Nature — Waste as Incident to Distribution — Types of Waste — Disposal of Liquid Waste and Sewage — Disposal of Solid Waste — Consumption Habits and Waste Disposal — The Business of Salvage — Salvage and Social Welfare — The Second-hand Trade — Industrial Waste and Salvage — Social Implications of Waste — Human Waste and Salvage

VII. TRANSPORTATION AND MOBILITY. . . . 135
Man's Increasing Mobility — Congestion at the City Center — Automobiles and Traffic Volume — Market Areas and the Competition for Location — Land Values and Urban Shiftings — Transportation and City-planning — "Stagger Plan" and Decentralization — City Time Adjustments — Mobility and *Wanderlust* — The Abode and the Road — Mobility and Social Organization — Social Space and Mobility

VIII. RECREATION 157
Urban Emphasis on Recreation — The Three-part Day — Play as Social Treatment — Playgrounds and Safety — The Space Problem — Commercialized Recreation — The Qualities of Commercial Recreation — The Dance in America — Commercialization and Public Morals — Recreation as Social Control — The Play Impulse — Settlements and Community Centers

IX. THE MECHANIZED URBAN ENVIRONMENT 179
The Advent of Machines — Machines and Culture — Dynamic Aspects of Machines — Toward Standardiza-

tion — Standardization and the Market — Standardized Recreation — Radio and Newspaper — The Passing of Isolation — Standardization of Personality — Mechanization of Education

PART III. URBAN PERSONALITIES AND GROUPS

X. THE CITY AS DYNAMIC STIMULUS 202
Human Adaptability — Environment and Human Nature — Movement in the City — The Time Factor and Speed — Crowds and Social Stimulation — Increase in Urban Contacts — Levels of Intimacy — Concentration of Specialists — Country and City Values — The End-Products

XI. THE URBAN PERSONALITY. 221
Behavior Patterns — Personality and Social Environment — Rural-Urban Type Contrasts — Rural Personality Traits — Rural-Urban Antipathies — Science and Rural-Urban Contrasts — The Mechanization of Urban Life — Transient Contact, Superficial Response — Habit Selection and Urban Personality — Urban Personality Traits — Limitations of Trait Classification

XII. URBAN SOCIAL TYPES. 242
Type Cities and Stereotypes — The Rich Man — The Philanthropist — The Booster — The Feminist — The Club Woman — The "Allrightnick" — The Rebel — The Club Man — The Bohemian — Socially Rejected Types — The Type Person

XIII. OCCUPATIONAL TYPES 261
Trends in Occupational Differentiation — Occupations and Areas — Personality and Occupation — Four Occupational Classes — Machine and Personal Skill — Occupations and Social Strata — Personality in Occupational Change — Dictatorship of the Expert — Apparent Trends in Specialism — Over-specialization — Occupational Differentiation

XIV. DIVERGENT URBAN GROUPS. 281
Urban Gregariousness — Economic Interest Groups — Various Interest Groups — Service and Control Groups — Group Continuity — "Isms" and Group Cohesion — Racial and Nationality Groups — Memory Groups — Fraternal and Service Societies — Political Associations — Urban Woman Groups — Atypical Groups — Classification of Groups — Generalizations on Groups

PART IV. SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE IMPACT OF THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

XV. THE SOCIAL PATHOLOGIES OF THE CITY 306
Social Change — Social Problems — Poverty and Social Pathology — The Poverty Line — Health and Disease — Old Age — Mental Defectives — Delinquents — Delinquency and Gangs — Homeless Individuals — Urban Social Conflict — Pathological Migration — The Challenge — Types of Social Work — Organized Social Work

XVI. URBANIZING THE HOME. 333
The Family Pattern — The Vanishing Home — Home Traditions — Mobility and Family Life — The Decline of Home Industry — Communized Multiple Dwellings — Results of High Rents — Urban Home Ownership — Families Without Privacy — The Decline of Home Social Life — The Decline of Home Recreation — The Divorce Problem — Re-defining Family Life

XVII. ASPECTS OF SOCIAL CONTROL. 354
Primary and Secondary Control — Roundabout Social Control — Formal Urban Government — The City-Manager — Governmental Theory and Practise — Dictatorship of Groups — Group Governmental Activities — Control by Indirection — Political Pressure — The Boss — Agencies and Service Clubs — Funded Wealth — The Press — The Real Estate Market

XVIII. FACT-FINDING AND CITY-PLANNING. . . 376
The Goal of Social Science — Research and the Survey — Urban Surveys — City-planning — Planning and Re-

planning — Planning for City Growth — Zoning and Traffic — Maps — Streets — Areas and Divisions — Functional Coördination — Practical City-planning — Rebuilding

XIX. RURAL-URBAN CONFLICTS AND INTEGRATIONS 397
The Fear of Urban Growth — "The Rural Bias" — Causes of Discord — Economic Conflict — Economic Interpretation — Classes and Prestige — Rural-Urban Conflict — Traditional Differences — Education — Rural Traits — Migrations, Finance, Harmony

INDEX . . . . . follows p. 414

INTRODUCTION

Social Realities of Urban Life

City-states arose before nations. The very notion of a corporate body of human beings, that is, the conception of society, probably came into being when "freemen" began to build cities. The *coloniae* and *municipia* of Rome give evidence of the dynamic quality of self-governing towns. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries we begin to hear of special charters for the *citizens* of Narbonne, the *burgesses* of Carcassonne, and the *capitouls* of Toulouse. Invariably the idea of cities carries with it the correlatives of special privileges, new liberties, and cultural distinctions.

Consequently two attitudes toward the city have always stood in contrast: condemnation and praise. Some sing with Walt Whitman of a city of

> "A million people — manners free and superb — open voices — hospitality — the most courageous and friendly young men;
> The free city! no slaves! no owners of slaves!
> The beautiful city, the city of hurried and sparkling waters!
> The city of spires and masts!
> The city nested in bays! my city! "

Others view the city as an abnormality — a place of darkness where vice stalks the streets and the worst in human nature comes to the surface. To Shelley, who said that "Hell is a city much like London," the city was a realm of suffering without pity or justice. The badness or goodness of the city, its poetic beauty or its prosaic drabness, need not concern the scientist[1] except as they indicate points of view. As such they are material for study. The sociology of the city begins by inquiring: (1) What is the city in terms of location, form, and structure? (2) How does the city function? Or, what are its processes? (3) What does the city do

to human nature? Or, what manner of men and what forms of society are produced by the city? (4) What problems grow out of urban life? Sociology, in short, aims by the methods of science at a more nearly adequate understanding of the social realities of urban life.[2]

Cities and city populations tend to increase; rural communities and rural populations tend relatively to diminish. This generalization, for all practical purposes, is appropriate to the whole of so-called Western Civilization (Europe and the Americas). The modern city dominates the Western World. "In the place of a world, there is a *city, a point,* in which the whole life of broad regions is collecting while the rest dries up," writes Spengler; [3] and again:

"three or four world-cities (that) have absorbed into themselves the whole content of History, while the old wide landscape of (the) Culture, becomes very provincial, serves only to feed the cities with what remains of its higher mankind."

According to Spengler, indeed, we of the West have become a megalopolitan (*grosstädtisch*) people. Modern life takes its cues from the modern city.[4] If these generalizations are valid, or true merely in part, they serve to challenge the social investigator. Many of the statements now being made about the city and its life are mere guesses; some are no doubt correct, while others, dictated by prejudice, pique, or ignorance, are thoroughly misleading. Scientific inquiry alone can discover and reveal the social realities of urban life.

The Rôle of Science

Science fascinates the inquiring mind. Almost all normal people want to know the why and wherefore of their environment The child asks questions without reserve, but the desire to query is not confined to childhood. When we grow up we find much about which we should like to inquire, and we suppress other questions

from fear that they may seem foolish. Or perhaps we "try to figure it out," that is, we attempt to reach conclusions ourselves by our own methods. This is rationalizing, or, in its more profound aspects, it may be philosophy. When it consists of carefully investigating the realities of life and of recording the data in verifiable form, it is science — in other words, a method of fact-finding necessitating an attitude of patient search and suspended judgment.

In another sense the term science is used to indicate a body of tested and systematized knowledge which for convenience is divided into fields: Natural Science, relating to phenomena in the organic and inorganic world apart from man (including branches or fields of investigation such as astronomy, geology, biology, physiology, chemistry, and physics); and Social Science, studying man in his societal relations (including such branches as history, political science, economics, anthropology anthropogeography, psychology, and sociology). All of these, of either group, tend to be separate fields of investigation (sometimes called "disciplines"), but they overlap one another and the boundaries between them are often in dispute. Scientists in related and adjoining fields have never ceased to differ over these matters of jurisdiction, which for practical purposes are meaningless. In these quarrels frequently sociologists have been involved, due to the fact that sociology was one of the latest of the social sciences to achieve recognition. Some of the more conservative scholars have not yet recognized it, or if they have done so, have grafted it on to some other department such as history, economics, or political science.

Yet sociology occupies a province quite distinct from any of the other fields in social science. Within the past decade it has established itself so well in its own province — dividing into a number of specialities or related segments — that its investigators no longer need to contest with their fellow scientists for a place in the sun. At all events any jurisdictional conflict which may exist does not interest us here. We start with the assumption that sociology, in common with other sciences, is not an isolated and

independent entity. Rather it draws heavily upon all of the sciences at work in its province or in related fields, just as it yields its findings to the neighboring sciences. This give-and-take between the social sciences is not to be lamented; rather it may be regarded as a mark of virility. The test of the right of a science to the name is its ability to utilize the borrowed materials and to integrate them with its own findings.

The Nature of Urban Sociology

Sociology, the science of society, began with philosophical generalizations about an area of borderline material seemingly not included in the other sciences which were equally general and philosophical in their method. Two generations fumbled before sociology descended from the realm of philosophy to a more objective level, then divided into specialities. The general divisions include social pathology, which again separates into pathology of the individual, the group, and the community; applied sociology; historical and general sociology; and social psychology. Each tends to be a more or less distinct field in its own name. Sociology may again be divided according to the two general divisions of the population, the city and the country, or urban and rural sociology. The fact that in this study we are concerned only with the segment of society which is urban does not imply that we are surveying a new province. Urban sociology is merely a special approach to an old field with which students of human society in connection with one or another of the social sciences have long been familiar.

Scholarly work and excellent books on rural life have served to establish rural sociology.[8] To meet the demand of the rural schools and colleges, especially agricultural colleges, for an ultra-practical point of view in all their branches, rural sociologists have offered books and courses dealing with the actual problems of rural life and shunning theory as much as possible. Indeed the pendulum has lately swung so far toward the practical that a re-

versal has set in and a tendency has appeared to study, not only the problems of rural society, but its organization as well. Urban sociology started out in much the same way, but it has not gone so far. It is almost wholly limited to the study of urban social problems, statistical studies of population, studies of government, transportation, marketing, planning, and other aspects, all of which are portions of the picture. Urban sociology, while it cannot presume to be all-inclusive, must attempt to see the city in larger terms. To observe the parts alone, or isolated behavior, would be as futile as to study the human body by giving attention merely to an afflicted organ. Urban society as a whole, insofar as it can be comprehended in its entirety, should be the field of urban sociology.

The urban sociologist begins by recognizing the city as an ever-changing center of culture in which civilization is continually being re-created and to which new situations are adding complications. To term it an organism may not be accurate, but the city does resemble a mechanical unity of functioning parts, all related and interdependent. The method is the same for the study of all community life, city as well as country: careful observation of the behavior and surroundings of people, in their normal and abnormal relations. Such mundane facts as houses, streets, geography, hinterland, rent, land values, and building changes — all of which have their social implications — must be recognized.

Statistics and the City

Urban sociology begins with the definition of the city that we may the more readily distinguish it from other forms of human communities, analyze it, and interpret its life. Sociologists who have been too much concerned with urban problems to bother with definitions have done little in this line, but students in other fields have already given the matter some thought. Obviously the simplest and most universal is the statistical definition by which cities are classed and compared according to population.[6]

Statistics resolve themselves into a relationship between numbers and space; that is, the number of persons per acre or per square mile. They also lead to numerical comparisons between communities and their parts or between classes of population.

The statistical definition emerges from the Census Bureau, where cities are listed in nine classes beginning with those having a population of 2,500 and ending with those having more than 1,000,000. Statistics also serve to describe such social phenomena as housing, home ownership, births, deaths, marriages, etc., as well as sex, race, age, and other attributes of the population. By comparing groups of people or communities with reference to these data, or by checking these data against time, we are able to note the trends of change, and these changes are described numerically. Thus the city is classed by statistical facts and such other data as can be shown by graphs, charts, and diagrams. No little controversy has arisen as to the extent to which graphic forms may profitably be used. Some sociologists are so convinced of the value of the statistical approach that they have been unable to recognize any other method as valid, taking the extreme position that nothing can be utilized in their science unless it can be objectively described or numerically measured. This undue emphasis laid upon a single method has in no small degree embarrassed the advance of sociology. Fortunately the statistical method is gradually being recognized as valuable in the study of urban life, but as only one way of finding facts. It does not reveal all that the sociologist needs to know. The city is a changing entity with a natural history. The record of its unfolding may also be described genetically as a process or a series of events, each being colored by preceding happenings and having influence on those that follow.

The Metropolitan Economy

The political economist defines the city according to its rôle in commercial and industrial life, describing it statistically be-

cause most of the material with which he deals, when not discussing theory, is readily adapted to numerical presentation. He concerns himself with economic "laws," such as those concerning demand and supply, diminishing returns, marginal utility, etc., which operate with equal mechanical rigidity in any human community. To him the city is the hub of the financial wheel, the center of exchange for all commodities wherever produced, and the point at which capital and labor unite in large-scale production. People exist only as *entrepreneurs* or laborers. When the economist speaks of the factors of production in the abstract, he means capital, labor, and nature, but in the city these elements become a two-factor relationship between capital and labor.

Not fitting into classical philosophical concepts, the city baffles and challenges political economists. Extremes of wealth and poverty challenge many of the complacent assumptions of the old "concept" economics, such as the assumption of free competition underlying the law of supply and demand. The ranks of economic theorizers are being divided because of the inability of some of them to recognize that impersonal classical economic theory does not always harmonize with reality. Others, prompted by discoveries in the fields of biology and psychology, are finding the old economics of pure and absolute concepts unfitted to the facts of economic life, especially in the changing milieu of the great city. Until recently sociologists and economists have had little of mutual interest except as occasionally they found themselves on the common ground of social service. However, the recent swing to objective research promises to throw them very much together in the common interest of fact finding. Already students of the one-time "dismal" science have put sociology much in their debt in their studies of city, town, and village economy. The views of N. S. B. Gras on the evolution of our economic system are briefly summarized below.

The village was the first human community. It emerged when men began to discipline nature, when they found it more convenient and satisfactory to till the soil and domesticate

animals than to lead a nomadic existence or to practise collective economy. Village economy represented a limited division of labor. All of the people lived, with some exchange of service, more or less directly from the soil. Commodities were both produced and consumed locally, and the village was the center of such exchanges as took place. The range of its outside contacts was small, but as the market widened, the number of crafts increased, wants became more varied, and a more complicated order came into existence —*town economy*. The town brought into being a larger non-agricultural and non-pastoral population. It was really a large village, having other villages in its trade area. Towns most favorably located increased their areas of trade until they took in not only villages but also other towns. Thus the city arose, accompanied by *metropolitan economy*.[1]

Thinking in this vein, the economist conceives an arrangement of life with the city as its center. All production, no matter how immediate or remote, is incidental to the great movement of production and consumption revolving about it. The more complex and diversified this organization becomes, the more efficient and impersonal. As the processes of production, distribution, and consumption are perfected, the whole structure grows more relentless and machine-like. Metropolitan economy is, in fact, large-scale standardized production and consumption. The more standardized the processes become, the more difficult it is for the outlying community to maintain an isolation. It must gear in with metropolitan economy, whether or no. Contributing materially to his search for a physical base to society, this approach interests the sociologist. When he has pointed out this economic unity, the political economist is ready to stop, but the sociologist must proceed to find out about the superimposed social organization. He then wants to know what effects this economic unity, with its drift toward standardization, has on the lives of the people; in other words, how does it affect human nature? This turns his attention to behavior, and before he is aware of it, the sociologist has invaded the field of social psychology.

Other Angles of Study

In studying the city the social psychologist is chiefly concerned with the manner in which it conditions human behavior and group organization. He wants to know why and how the city molds people as it does — why each type of city-dweller has become the character he is; how an urban population behaves — because he is interested in devising ways and means for controlling and directing its energies.

Taking a utilitarian attitude, geographers are devoting increased attention to the relation between their science and society. Why study the earth, they ask, if man cannot utilize his findings in the art of living on it? In response to this challenge they have turned to the human side of geography. From the studies which have dealt with the city we have been able to learn much about the forces that determine the location and type of city as well as the direction of its development. A group of human geographers have been referring to this excursion into a strange field as "human ecology" — a term used also by a group of urban sociologists approaching the field from another angle. Both groups are studying urban development as it is affected by such factors as topography, location, climate, altitude, physical barriers, and natural resources. Knowledge of these factors is indispensable to intelligent control, suggesting what is possible and practical and what is futile in the planning and building of cities.

Ethnology is the historic science of human culture, tracing man's development in terms of language, art, social customs, etc. By these and other marks of culture the ethnologist traces the migrations and mixtures of peoples. The field is so immense that only a part of it has been investigated. Ethnologists have been so absorbed in the study of lost and primitive cultures that they have had little time for contemporary problems, but with such a body of information behind them they will doubtless make contributions of vital interest to the sociologist.

One school of ethnologists divides the cultural evolution of

man into three stages: savagery, barbarism, and civilization. The last is that of city-building, which means that what is termed civilization began when the social organization of man was marked by trade, division of labor, and traditions of building. Doubtless the rudiments of city-building were present as soon as men learned to build and to submit to collective living. Hence some students have called the city the natural home of man. Perhaps it would be more nearly correct to say that human beings, like plants and animals, naturally gather in compact aggregations. In these dynamic life-centers civilization is created and re-created, for this is the cradle of culture as well as its radiating center. Without doubt this fertile and challenging field will shortly be brought to the attention of the ethnologists.

Engineer, Moralist, Artist

The real burden of city-building rests with the technicians, architects, and engineers — the conservers of all that survives in structural tradition. They increase the possibilities of concentration by perfecting the arts which build the city up and out. As it grows upward and outward it becomes more of a mechanism and is more subject to the strains and wear of machines. On the builders rests the responsibility of seeing that the mechanism does not break down or clog, of facilitating the necessary flow of the crowds with the least friction. They initiate and direct the tearing down and the re-creation of the city. Complex and overpowering, the city escapes from the control of ordinary men and can be manipulated only by experts. Theirs is the problem of fashioning and renewing this mechanized environment, and so far as the situation permits they build the kind of city seemingly required. To illustrate: the 108-story skyscraper contemplated in New York can doubtless be erected because some people are not averse to occupying space a thousand feet in the air. The location conditions the kind of structure and all factors of construction. Architects and engineers must provide for all

exigencies in connection with the foundation — width of street, wind velocity, strength of materials, elevator capacity, protection against fire and other hazards, heating, lighting, and water supply. As these buildings pile floor upon floor at the points of greatest land value and congestion, problems of entrance and exit, of arranging communication, of getting supplies in and waste out, increase. The technician, of course, rarely dabbles in theory, but on the material side he is a useful ally for the urban sociologist.

In many quarters alarm is expressed as to the probable end toward which our metropolitan centers are moving. The assumption behind such thinking and writing is that the evils of excessive concentration of population could be averted if somehow the city could be forced back into some previous arrangement of life or forced ahead into some utopia. Never willing to accept the city as he finds it, the protester is always present. He wants to make something else out of it — to wipe out poverty, abolish the slum, stamp out crime and vice, enforce morality and sobriety, rout sin, and in place of all that disturbs him, establish something more to his liking. Science does not need these objectives; the search for facts is its own reward, although scientists as individuals may be personally interested in any or all of these special considerations. They need only to guard against the danger that their personal interests will blind them to essential facts. Once the facts are known, they become, according to the ethics of science, the property of society to be used for its guidance, to point the way for the protesters and reformers as well as for others. From his own researches the dissenter cannot always describe the city adequately; he must turn to the related sciences, some of which have been mentioned and all of which have something to contribute.

Any of these fields of investigation may be expected to yield data for the sociologist, and other sources may profitably be drawn upon. He may turn from science to the arts. A fascinating kinship joins the two, since both science and art are methods of estimating reality. Science has scorned art for its flights of

imagination, but social science, allowing for these, cannot afford to endorse this indictment. When the artist is faithful to his conception of reality he runs no greater risk of misleading his followers than does the calculating scientist with his own brand of hunches which he labels "hypotheses." Ben Hecht's *1001 Afternoons in Chicago* or Stephen Graham's *New York Nights* or John McIntyre's *Slag* do not yield material for the statistically-minded, but they do help to complete the picture of the city. The life of the city and the emotions that disturb it are facts as real as those we can count and measure. In biography, especially, some very revealing psychological and sociological material is to be found.

The City Defined by Function

By what token may we know that any community has attained its urban majority? The answer is, of course, obvious: a city is what a city does. A city is, among other things, a state of mind, a way of behaving. When the primary group relationships that characterize village and town life have yielded to something more complex, when the neighborhood has broken up into smaller and more isolated units which are separated according to their diverse interests, we can call a community a city. When a number of unlike groups gather, no longer related and kept in control by the old folk-craft, then we have the beginning of metropolitan life; formal control is initiated and law comes to take the place of custom. The mark of the city, as of any impersonal institution, is the beginning of rules — when control comes through some intermediate agency. Control becomes impersonal and secondary when we hire a policeman (and leave him alone) to enforce on one group a law which has been made by another. When a community through rules and hired agents begins to regulate weights and measures, when it controls strangers, transportation, fire, disease, the fuel, water, and food supplies, it is on its way to cityhood.

Village, town, and city are, after all, just names for type communities where fewer or more people in their efforts to live together establish suitable habits of living. The suburb, if most of its inhabitants live in terms of the city, may be as urban as if it were located nearer the heart of affairs. One becomes a villager only as he centers his life in the village and becomes a neighbor to the other villagers. Country life is calmer, less subject to the strains incident to metropolitan life. In the city people are more stimulated, hence more mobile, more transient in their interests, less bound by tradition and convention than is the farmer or villager. So the city is an area of urban conduct bordered by political lines and described statistically.

Studying the City

The sociologist has only begun when he has defined the life of the city, for constant study is required to comprehend its continual flux and rearrangement. Social philosophers have frequently fallen into the error of assuming that a phenomenon, once they had defined it, would remain as it was; that all knowledge is reducible to formulæ which may be checked and cataloged. They pursued facts as eternal truths, and truth was static. Once they classified truth, or something which seemed to be truth, they did not expect it to change. They assumed a well-ordered universe operating in accordance with fixed laws. The scientist had only to discover these laws, state them comprehensively and tersely, and thereafter society would be blessed or penalized as it did or did not submit to them. Not least of the staticists, even until a decade or so ago, were the sociologists. Like many others they assumed that just as two times two always equals four, so human relationships were no less under the dominion of law. Thus the social scientists set themselves in search of the basic laws of the universe to be underlined and remembered as rules are memorized in studying grammar.[9]

Such an axiomatic kernel of truth was Spencer's cosmic

evolution. Accepting the hypotheses of organic evolution, he tried to apply them to the universe in three divisions: inorganic, organic, and super-organic evolution. The last, dealing with man, geared and blended with the other two, and all three harmonized in perfect rhythm into a general well-disciplined universe of movement in which even the heavenly bodies joined. One trouble with such a faith in the inevitableness of the universe is that it leads to fatalism, as it did with Herbert Spencer, who decried all forms of social work because they preserved the unfit and to that extent interfered with the orderly processes of evolution. In this view the whole universe becomes a relentlessly impersonal cosmic order, with man sitting on the side-lines and letting affairs take their course. The ever-present inevitable factors in many forces with which man cannot contend serve to justify such a viewpoint. Still man can manipulate many forces; and as for those he cannot manage, if he understands them, he is in a better position to escape being wiped out by them. Yet the how and the why of his place in the universe is not always reducible to or explainable by laws and axioms.

Although a few scientists still cling to their faith in absolutes, most of them recognize that an ultimate truth exists no more than an ultimate style for men's collars or women's dresses. Neither is there a final solution to any of the questions which might be asked about the city. The best answer tends to be merely tentative, because change is ever present and definitions are no sooner made than they need to be altered. We might liken the city to a dye vat. Let the contents be of any color or hue, add a drop of another color, and the whole volume acquires a different tint. However minute the difference may be, it is sufficient to make the dye another color. In social life where men of many minds meet and each new element makes for a diverse composition, redefinition is imperative. The only absolute the scientist recognizes is that change is endless; hence he must go on indefinitely shifting his base and constantly re-interpreting his problems.

To think of any absolute truth, then, is futile, although

this should in no way dampen our normal tendencies to query. We learn to accept things as true in relation to certain times and conditions, centering our interest in the eternal pursuit of truth. What faith is sometimes attached to census reports! Even if the information contained in them could be completely and truthfully gathered, it would be out of date before the results could be put into print. So life in the city is constantly being torn down and salvaged, added to and re-created, making urban sociology a fascinating field for original and continuous research.

With what materials does the sociologist work? [10] From his armchair he certainly cannot find them, though the armchair has served all the social sciences well. The present demand is for live material, "the materials that come from the sidewalk." The sociologist needs to supplement his casual observations and native profundity, those reflections that come to him in his study, with concrete materials. Sociology is becoming more and more a science of real people in their social relationships. Obviously, the best way to know about people is to follow them into the street, into their private lives when permissible, and into their group relations when possible, here to watch and observe them as the biologist studies micro-organisms. Not only does the sociologist go out, but he takes his students from the classrooms and archives to the street where men live, in order that they too may watch and understand the why of urban society. Instead of considering hypothetical people as the economist once complacently studied the "economic man," he investigates real groups and their representatives. Since people are creatures of cosmic forces as well, he also turns his attention to their inter-relations with their natural environment.

Slumming and Research

The need of studying people and groups where they live —a need recognized especially in colleges and universities where sociology, in common with other social sciences, nestles most

securely — sometimes leads to a morbid dabbling with the down-and-out classes. The majority of students come from the more favored walks of life, from protected homes, and sociology offers an excellent opportunity to learn "how the other half lives." Thus field-work often degenerates into thrill-seeking or a form of slumming supervised by the professor.[11] The result is usually a recognition of the contrasts in urban life, but no related conception of the city as a whole. In exceptional instances a sympathetic understanding of the condition of the poor develops. The unfortunate result of such procedure is that interest in research is perverted and the negative aspect of city life is over-emphasized. The morbid is only one phase of urban life. The housing of the rich holds as much material for sociologists as do tenements. The flat without a bath is a sociological problem no more than the apartment with seven. Fifth Avenue shops are not less fascinating than the pushcart markets of Grand Street, New York, or Maxwell Street, Chicago. Hobohemia with its leisure class, the "won't-works" and the "can't-works," vies in color and interest with the streets given over to polite club life. The Gold Coast is no less a sociological fact, and no less interesting, than is Chinatown. In any case, to find out all there is to know about some particular segment of urban life and relate it to the larger life about it, is a scientific method of studying the city.

The sociologist, like any other social scientist, is studying reality, and he must proceed candidly and fearlessly. Anything less would be shamming. If he would understand reality, he must expose himself to it, else his descriptions will not ring true. If he has a taste for research, he will not be satisfied with second-hand material. His own efforts must discover the facts, or at least verify those which come to him from other sources. The student of urban society never arrives at more than an approximate interpretation of his subject, because his subject never ceases to change. Even the casual student fits more harmoniously into the life of the city and it means more to him if he is equipped with some of the tools that sociology should be able to give him for adapting

himself to that life. A sociological approach to the study of the city ought to aid even the casual student in seeing urban society in a larger perspective.

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. The City in literature. Suggestive readings are:
   i. Manhattan, Walt Whitman: *Leaves of Grass.*
   ii. *The Color of a Great City,* Theodore Dreiser. See especially the Foreword.
   iii. *Shallow Soil,* Knut Hamsun.
   iv. *Manhattan Transfer,* John Dos Passos.
   v. *1001 Afternoons in Chicago,* Ben Hecht.
   vi. *Nights in London,* Thomas Burke.
2. At this point the student should make the distinction between sociology as a descriptive science, essentially theoretical, and sociology as a method of discovery.
3. *The Decline of the West,* Oswald Spengler, Knopf, 1926.
4. See Ch. VII, " Magic, Mentality and City Life," in *The City,* R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, U. of Chi. 1925.
5. See C. C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology.*
6. An excellent evaluation of the statistical method — in relation to teaching, research, and case work — by George Lundberg is found in the *Journal of Social Forces,* Sept. 1926 (Vol. V:61–5).
7. For a discussion of this point of view read the writings of N. S. B. Gras, but especially his article on " The Development of Metropolitan Economy in Europe and America," *Amer. Hist. Rev.* Vol. 27(1921–2):695–708. Or his *Introduction to Economic History,* New York, 1922.
8. A number of definitions of the city will be found in the first chapter of Scott E. W. Bedford's recent *Readings in Urban Sociology,* Appleton, 1927.
9. On the perpetually tentative nature of science, see *Social Discovery,* E. C. Lindeman, New Republic, 1925.
10. Read Ch. I, " Human Behavior in Urban Environment," *The City,* Park and Burgess. This is a general program for research in the city. Also suggestive is *The New Social Research* by Emory S. Bogardus, Los Angeles, 1926.
11. Another approach not essentially slumming is the sight-seeing tour. The objection to the slumming method of sociology is that it

emphasizes too much the sensational and leads away from the fundamentals of sociology. Much of the early literature in sociology, unfortunately, grew out of slumming and aimed passionately and ill-advisedly at reform. Many of the early housing and district surveys also bear the mark of the reformer-slummer type of social student.

PART I

THE STRUCTURE OF THE CITY

I. The City: A Geographical Fact
II. The City: An Ecological Fact
III. The City and Its Hinterland
IV. Occupational Areas

I

INTRODUCTION

A social entity, like any other object, may be specified, pointed out, with respect to its setting. Reality, according to the *Gestalt* psychologists, is a configuration which yields meaning only as its parts are conceived and observed in relation to one another and in relation to the background. Every fact involves a total situation, and so the city as a social object includes the parts, the unit configuration, and the background or setting.

All social forms, societies, rest upon a material base, occupying space. Soil, topography, and climate are factors which condition this occupation of space, and consequently the city, or any other social unit, may be regarded first of all as a geographical fact. But occupation of space on any sector of the earth's surface implies a secure or insecure relationship with other living organisms capable of occupying the same space; from this point of view the city becomes an ecological fact. And, when a city becomes established and continues its existence, it soon becomes evident that its life is in part dependent upon the semi-urban and rural groups which constitute its hinterland. These are, in one sense, structural facts with which the study of the city begins. After these larger views are followed, it becomes necessary to see the city in terms of its most realistic parts, namely, its occupational areas. Part I makes its approach from this structural point of departure. Involved in this preliminary approach are, obviously, many of the physical and biological as well as social sciences. The city must be oriented within the maze of facts contributed by all of these various sciences, but to do this in a thoroughgoing manner would clearly lead us too far afield for present purposes. All that is attempted in these first four chapters is to introduce the student to such highly relevant factors of the structure of the city as will lead to a better understanding of its functions.

THE CITY: A GEOGRAPHICAL FACT

The Physical Environment

Civilization is the work of man. In the march of events which results in cultures and communities, human beings in association are the active agents. But men function within a context of nature; they are integral to a natural order in which action and reaction, cause and effect, follow certain rules which are at least partially discoverable. Men build, for example, the kinds of cities permitted by the "situation." By situation is meant that complexity of influencing factors which determines the consequences of man's city-building activity. Some of these factors are clearly within human control; others are not. It has been customary to speak of those factors over which man has little or no control as *natural forces,* while those factors which he presumably molds and directs are called *social forces.* This arbitrary distinction serves a useful purpose provided it does not lead to the assumption that social forces are somehow superior, extrinsic to the inclusive order of nature.

The most obvious of all natural forces which influence and condition city-building are those which constitute the object of study for the science of geography, namely: *topography, climate,* and *soil.*[1] These factors are instrumental in determining both the location and the development of cities. Because they are scattered over the face of the earth, occupying space and affecting the geographical landscape, human communities are geographical facts.

Many attempts have been made to explain human behavior and social organization by reference to geographical factors, especially climate.[2] Thus Hyppocrates wrote on "Airs, Waters, and Places." Some climates, he said, made for vigor and bravery,

whereas others induced cowardice. Aristotle believed that people living in temperate zones had high spirits and were temperamentally cold; consequently they lived under the dispensation of weak political institutions. Other climates produced people of high inventiveness but little spirit who fell readily into slavery. The Greeks, so thought Aristotle, stood midway between all extremes of climate and hence were fitted by temperament to rule the world. Polybius also noted the relation between political history and geography. Thomas Aquinas contended that a temperate climate produced healthy and contented people, whereas extremes of heat and cold made for unhappiness. He pointed out that builders of cities should give heed to the need for pure air and water.

Those who have attempted to explain human conduct in terms of geographical factors are commonly called *environmentalists*. (Lester F. Ward was in the habit of naming them " mesologists.") Jean Bodin, a French political philosopher who may be regarded as the pioneer of this school of thought, summed up and evaluated previous theories of climate, and proposed new ones. He hoped to find in his study of climate and environment the key to human conduct, so that he might advise statesmen on how the people of the different countries should be ruled. Montesquieu, another French political philosopher and historian, went even further in this search for an environmental basis for government and social organization. He attempted, for instance, to relate the customs of people not only with climate but with longitude, latitude, and altitude.

Among the more recent geographers, Karl Ritter led the way in that branch of study which is now known as human geography. One of his students, Elisee Reclus, published in 1882 *The Earth and Its Inhabitants*, the nineteen volumes of which are still useful principally for the maps of cities which they contain. American thought was most profoundly influenced by Frederick Ratzel, the German anthropogeographer, whose point of view was propagated in the United States by his pupil, Ellen Churchill Semple. Her

Influence of Geographic Environment is still a standard text. Another important exponent of the environmental point of view was C. Vallaux, who wrote in 1908–1911 on the relation between social and geographic facts; later he collaborated with another Frenchman, Jean Bruhnes, in writing a geography of history.

These early environmentalists prepared the way for present researches and hypotheses. Many of the leading contemporary geographers, chief among whom is perhaps J. Russell Smith, devote themselves to studies aiming at geographical interpretations of all human communities from hamlets to metropolitan centers. Smith, whose recent work, *North America*, promises to be a classic, begins by interpreting natural geographic areas in terms of economic facts; assuming a dominant city to be the center of each economic-geographical area, he proceeds to explain the area as a relation between the ascendent city and its surrounding territory.

Geographers in their zeal to explain human society in terms of the physical environment are sometimes accused of assuming too much, especially when they attempt to account for cultural differences by geographical facts. Environment cannot explain culture, say the ethnologists, though it may figure in the development of a culture. The sociologist is not interested in any of the extreme uses to which early geographers, and some recent ones, have attempted to put their data, such as explaining skin color, temperament, or stature. Sociology is only interested in geography insofar as it limits and conditions the social life of communities.

From the geographer the sociologist gets the facts relative to plant and animal life, soil and climate, topography, and such other raw and primary facts. Most of these facts, according to Whitbeck and Finch, are concerned with the attempts of people to adapt themselves to their environments.

The features of natural environment to which people most frequently adjust their lives are (1) the nature of the climate in which they live, (2) the character of the land surface, whether

plains, valleys, mountains, or other forms of topography, (3) the character of the soil, (4) the presence or absence of fuel and other sources of power, minerals, forests, fish, and other material resources, and (5) geographical position with respect to other places and other peoples.[3]

Human Geography

The above is a comprehensive and inclusive presentation of the purposes and functions of geography. As a matter of fact, geographers find it necessary to confine themselves to more restricted fields. Briefly, and for the purposes of this work, it may be said that *geography is the study of human beings in their place-relations.*

Jean Bruhnes, whose volume, *Human Geography,* appeared in English in 1920, utilizes in presenting his subject six primary categories, namely:

(a) The *road;* its relation to mobility; number and types of roads with respect to types of communities.

(b) The *house;* as an evidence of the state of the arts; as an index of the relation between man and nature.

(c) *Domesticated animals;* as evidence of man's capacity to discipline nature.

(d) *Cultivated plants;* as further evidence of man's influence upon nature.

(e) *Devastation of animal life;* man's destructive relation to nature.

(f) *Devastation of plant life and minerals;* as further evidence of man's destructive relation to natural resources.

In elaborating these Bruhnes brings out the geographer's growing interest in the impact between man and the earth. He notes how man uses the earth, sometimes exploiting space, sometimes wasting space. Over the whole face of the earth he finds people scattered sparsely or densely as the conditions of vegetation,

altitude, climate and other factors permit. He devotes considerable space to roads and routes of travel. Here he is dealing with material that is sociological; at least, any adequate study of community life, if it does not begin here, must eventually take account of the avenues of contact and communication. Bruhnes was led in his study of roads to a consideration of the urban community.

> The concentration of habitations keeps pace with the concentration of paths of communication. The larger the city the finer the network of roads which surround it. Inversely, the more physical conditions favor the concentration of roads at one point, the more possibilities of growth a city has. The essential needs of the inhabitants demand for their satisfaction a fine network of paths of communication. One must think, for example, of what is consumed every day by an urban center of two and a half million of inhabitants like Paris and what must be brought every day to its city markets to comprehend how much space is taken up in Parisian suburbs by railroads, highways or streets.[4]

Urban Sites

The above approach to the study of cities, beginning with avenues of communication, suggests two further geographical categories: *site* and *location*. The site is obviously a geographical fact determined by function and time; location refers to the site in relation to a larger total situation. The function of a city may change, in the course of time, as a response to changing demands made by the surrounding territory for which it serves as center. Many of the larger cities were once predominantly political, or military, or aristocratic in function; as time passed, commercial or industrial activities came to the fore. For example, the relation between ancient cities and the areas surrounding them was largely one of mutual dependence and protection. The site of the city was often selected in the interest of military strategy and only incidentally for commercial purposes. For all of the country around, it was a protection against the enemy, and in return the surrounding territory supplied food and raw materials.

Consequently we are not surprised to find many of the oldest cities located on hill-tops as are Siena, Pistoia, Viterbo, in Italy, or Carcassonne in southern France. Other cities are located on islands, or started on islands, as were Paris and Copenhagen; others are located in swamps or lowlands as are Calcutta and Venice; Cadiz, Spain, retreated for protection to the tip of a narrow peninsula. The hill towns were invariably surrounded by high walls, many of which may still be seen encircling the center of what has now become a larger municipality. Perhaps one of the best illustrations is Perugia in Italy, where one comes upon the original protective wall long after the borders of the modern city have been passed. As the military function diminished and commercial activity increased, such cities either made new adjustments or suffered decline. Thus the old Carcassonne remains a relic on its hill, while the new city flourishes in the valley below.

In a public address, Dr. J. L. Myres, general secretary of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, pointed out the peculiar relation between Greek civilization and geography.[5] Greece was a region of low mountains, islands, bays, and promontories with copper, marble, iron, and gold, but no coal — an ungrateful soil for agriculture. The existence of the community depended on the hard work of many laborers. Grain was scarce, but there were vines and olives. Dr. Myres said:

> Under these conditions industrial activity was possible with the two main industries — textiles based on the wool of the pastures and hardware of various kinds derived from the mineral resources of the old crystaline rocks. In times of danger from continental land powers the Aegean settlements shrank to the sea-fronts of all the promontories and in-shore islands. On the other hand, in time of danger from sea-pirates, the settlements withdraw from the sea onto the high ground wherever possible. When sea piracy is eventually reduced in extent under new control of organized sea powers elsewhere, for example by Rome and by France and England in modern times, the hill villages spread once more down to the sea coast.

The above paragraph deals with three factors involved in the geographical location of cities: (a) protection from enemies; (b) accessibility to raw materials; and (c) labor supply. There was a hinterland to protect and exploit, but it served also as the market for the specialized commodities produced, themselves the gifts of a peculiar geographical situation. The ancient city was located and its life was regulated in response to danger, whereas the determining factors of the modern city are economic. Cities locate where they can survive best — survival depending upon an accessible food supply or a position of advantage where the city can function somehow in the creation or the distribution of services and goods. In his *Theory of Transportation* Cooley observed: "Population and wealth tend to gather wherever there is a break in transportation." Reviewing this in the light of geography, Douglass Ridgley adds:

> Wherever commercial products are unloaded, stored, and again shipped, there exists a "break in transportation." At the place where this break in transportation occurs, people are required to handle the goods and provide for storage. The goods may change ownership at this place of transfer and this requires banking facilities for financial operations. The people who handle the goods must be provided with food, clothing, and homes. This requires the presence of people who keep stores, build homes, and do many other kinds of work. If the break in transportation is an important one, the amount of goods to be handled and the number of people employed increase; the financial interests grow; manufacturing is developed; and a city is established. The size of the city and the rapidity of its growth depend on the amount of commerce and manufacturing developed at or near the break in transportation. The geographic principle involved in the commercial and industrial development of cities has been well formulated.[6]

City-building and the Road

The sociological significance of the break in transportation relates to its effect upon the emerging community. Whether village, town, or city, the type of community is conditioned by the nature of the break — its duration, the quantity of goods

intercepted, and the amount of labor invested in the goods. The simplest break in transportation is the relay station, such as a railroad town in a desert. Las Vegas, Nevada, where trains stop to change crews or engines, is typical. A second type of break is where goods pass through, but are transferred from one carrier to another. On the Pacific Coast several cities serve as ports for the oriental trade, silks, teas, etc. Relatively few persons are needed to handle the goods — not as much service as would be required should they be held in warehouses awaiting the turn of the market. But this oriental trade, transient as it is, has a profound effect upon the business life of such cities as Vancouver and Seattle. Contrast the handling of silk in transit in Seattle and in New York or Chicago where the break in transportation is of sufficient duration to permit the change of form of the commodity, that is, where utility is added to it. In Seattle it is moved from one carrier to another, but in New York it is converted from cloth to garments. This final break in transportation where goods are changed from raw to finished products, absorbing much labor in the process, marks the metropolis.

Breaks in transportation occur where two kinds of land or water transportation meet, or where different kinds of transportation — water, land, or air — come together. All of these are paths of communication and may be classed under the one term, the road. Where there is no road and little movement, the consequent isolation renders social life relatively static. At the other extreme, of which the city is typical, with a maximum of movement and contact, proportionately the maximum of change takes place. In these extremes of social life human nature differs, because life is ever in flux in the one and stagnant for the want of stimulation in the other. But when communities are knit together into a network of lines of contact, the road has made them co-dependents by speeding up communication and the exchange of goods and services. This in turn facilitates efficiency in the exploitation of the resources of the earth. This immense exchange arrangement extending to the limits of

communication, whereby cities are linked to their hinterlands and towns to other towns, has been designated, as we noted above, metropolitan economy.

> The most favorably located town has grown into a great commercial nexus wherein goods and services are exchanged on an unprecentedly large scale. . . . Internally the new unit is made up of a great commercial city as nucleus and a large surrounding area as *hinterland*. In the nucleus are the men of big business who look out upon the *hinterland* as their field of conquest. In the big surrounding area of the unit are the towns and the farms, the railroads and the mines, the canals and the forests. Never before have so many millions of men been brought into so big a unit of producers and consumers.[7]

How much is the city — the nucleus of this metropolitan unit — the creature of natural forces, and to what extent is it artifact of human design? In obedience to the natural laws of increase any community might become a city, but few actually do. St. Petersburg, for centuries the capital of Russia, was created by the fiat of a monarch. As long as it remained imperial headquarters and a court city, drawing revenue from the whole country, it prospered. Its name changed to Leningrad, reduced to the capital of a province, to the status of a mere competitor with its rival, Moscow, it has lost, according to the best reports, a million people since the beginning of the Bolshevist régime. Moscow, the new capital and the industrial headquarters, has gained a million. How great a rôle the human or psychic factor has played we have yet to learn; but it is evident that Moscow is more centrally located and is accessible to the high roads of travel in all directions, while Leningrad has no supporting hinterland on at least three sides and is situated in the north on a harbor that is ice-bound several months each year. This is true also of Vladivostok, Russia's far-eastern outlet for Siberia, her only port on the Pacific. Nature blocks the way to the world's markets through Vladivostok, and national boundaries prevent free access to the sea by a more southern port. To secure such

an outlet through Manchuria, Russia fought a futile war with Japan for the possession of Port Arthur. Frequently political bounds disturb the geographical relationship between a city and its hinterland. Vienna and Budapest, their hinterland now Italian, can no longer offer their young people the old-time opportunities for careers, or even the means of earning a living, that they once were able to give as capital cities of great countries. The new frontiers set up since the World War hinder the free exchange of commodities so that the former market relations are being hampered, to the injury of both cities and their natural hinterland.

Cities Favored by Nature

The mouth of a river is frequently utilized as the site of a city. Checking this observation on the map, it will be found that river cities are often located where streams are forded or bridged, where they converge, or flow into the sea. For example, Coblenz is situated at the junction of the Rhine and Moselle Rivers. Similarly, Pittsburgh nestles where the Allegheny meets the Monongahela River; Cairo lies at the mouth of the Nile, the gateway to one of the world's most fertile valleys; Buenos Aires is at the opening of the great Parana River valley, New Orleans at the mouth of the Mississippi, Shanghai at the mouth of the Yangtze. Although far upstream, river cities may dominate the river valley as a great market area. Portland, Oregon, is typical. Other cities, for example London and New York, are located with reference to rivers. With later developments the rivers have dwindled in importance. The instances of urban rivalry that follow illustrate the dominance of natural over human factors in the ultimate determination of urban location and development.

New York and Boston

During the early half of the last century these two cities were serious rivals. Boston had the advantage in tradition, cultural

ascendency, and in the '30's was twenty-four hours nearer Europe. It was the financial center, the fashion center, in short, the hub of American life. To use the words of the Boston business world in the '30's: "We have the most intelligent population, and the purest municipal government in the world; the highest reputation for probity and honesty; all this with business liberality and enterprise." Even with 300,000 people, to 100,000 in Boston, the future of New York was not so bright.

Fifty years showed that intellectual superiority and political purity do not determine the issue, for the population of New York rose to five million when Boston had not passed the half million mark. In the '80's a steamer a day was leaving New York for Europe, while Boston cleared not more than one steamer a week. During the following thirty years the balance swung tremendously toward New York. Was New York saved by being more wide-awake or by a better location? Certainly Boston has as good a harbor, but New York is two hundred miles nearer the heart of the country — more accessible to a larger hinterland. A more favored railroad terminus, it is the logical point of contact between the land and ocean transportation of the nation.

Jacksonville and Fernandina

The object of an early Florida boom, promoted by a number of businessmen including the governor and a senator from Florida in conjunction with some New York bankers, was to build the great port town of the state at Fernandina on Cumberland Bay. Compared with Jacksonville, sixty miles inland on the St. Johns River, this was a good harbor. All that money and politics could do for a town was done for the new port, but it dwindled and finally failed. Now it is a mere village on a branch line from Jacksonville. Although more difficult to reach, Jacksonville lay nearer the heart of Florida, on the line of four railroads and as many or more highways. Upon such connections a city can feed normally, and without them it must die.

Galveston and Houston

Between these two cities a lively struggle for commercial ascendency is now going on. Situated on an insular lowland at the entrance to Galveston Bay — difficult of access by railroad except at a single narrow point — Galveston has been the port of Texas. Houston, on the other hand, inland a hundred miles on the very wide Buffalo Bayou, is yet approachable by rail from every direction and is touched by nine railroads radiating toward twelve points of the compass; in fact one of the two roads which enter Galveston passes through Houston. Although Houston has no harbor, a market area radiates in all directions and almost to the very gates of Galveston. It seems that in spite of human efforts to the contrary Houston will win through its more advantageous natural situation.

The Case of Portland

At the mouth of the Columbia River, where it is six miles wide and deep enough for big shipping, John Jacob Astor founded the city of Astoria to be the city of the Northwest. It should be noted that the Columbia is, geologically speaking, older than the Cascade Mountains or the Coast Range through which it runs from the inter-mountain region, including Idaho, so that there is a down-grade almost from the Utah-Idaho line to the Pacific. A hundred miles above Astoria at the forks of the Columbia and Wilamette Rivers lies Portland. Below this point there is not much agriculture but above spread the fertile Hood River and Wilamette valleys. The problem was whether ships would travel a hundred miles up the river to Portland or stop at Astoria and force business to travel down the river to meet them. Time has shown that ships will ascend the river and Astoria has never outgrown the status of a fishing and lumber town.

A second attempt to build below Portland was started by the Northern Pacific Railroad Company when it founded Kalama,

forty miles down the river. Real estate was boomed and advertised until lots sold for $30 a front foot. In a year the project failed and the town has long since vanished. The third town-building venture was made by the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company. But St. Helena, several miles below Portland, also failed. The fourth attempt to build the queen city of the Northwest is now being made by the Long-Bell Lumber Company. But Longview, about twenty miles below Portland, also seems doomed. So far it has made no impression on the prestige of Portland, which is situated where the roads join, where ocean transportation meets river transportation and where both come together with land transportation; where railways and highways enter the town and leave by the river routes along which the first settlers found their way.

Dairen and Port Arthur

Twenty-three years ago, at the opening of the Russo-Japanese War, Dairen boasted one main street and an unfinished breakwater. Its harbor was heavily silted. It had less than 18,000 inhabitants. Today the census shows 212,000 people living here.

Port Arthur twenty-three years ago boasted more than 100,000 people, of whom, exclusive of garrison troops, 30,000 were Russians. The magnificent landlocked harbor was busy with naval and commercial shipping, and the hills surrounding the city bristled with forts which supposedly made it impregnable.

Today Port Arthur has less than 25,000 inhabitants, all Chinese and Japanese except five white persons. The harbor is silting rapidly. Only small coasting ships put into the port, and the "impregnable" forts are, for the most part, humbled ruins marked with memorial monuments.

Though old Port Arthur is the seat of the Japanese government of the leased territory of 1,300 square miles at the tip of Liaotung Peninsula, Dairen, thirty miles distant, is the great import and export city for all Manchuria, and in point of foreign tonnage is now the second port in all of China.

Dairen's future may be guessed at from the fact that Manchuria has now only 26,000,0000 acres of land under cultivation, and has

40,000,000 acres of virgin soil as rich as that now producing bumper crops. This year this last "great west" has drawn 800,000 Chinese immigrants, and prospects are that next year the influx of new settlers will be even greater. Couple this rapid expansion and development of the interior, tapped by the Japanese-owned South Manchuria Railway, with the fact that Dairen is a free port, and boasts the cheapest cargo-handling charges of any harbor in the world, and the reasons for the city's rapid growth become apparent.[8]

The Human Factor in City-building

In other cases the human factor is equally important in fashioning the destiny of a city. When a number of towns are competing for supremacy and Nature does not seem to favor any of them, one may gain the ascendency by some trick of man or fortune. An instance is that of Oklahoma City and Guthrie, two small Oklahoma cities within forty miles of each other. Oklahoma City had a population of about 50,000, while that of Guthrie — the capital of the state — was less than 15,000. One night a company of leading citizens from Oklahoma City raided Guthrie and carried away all of the state papers, thereby moving the state capital. With this start, Oklahoma City gradually acquired more railroads, more wholesale business, more department stores, while Guthrie remains a disappointed city with a very limited market area.

Cheyenne, Wyoming, is an instance of a railroad-made town. Formerly a trading town on the wagon road, it chanced to be made a division point and a junction when the railroad was built. There was not the same geographical imperative in the selection of the site of Cheyenne as we find in the case of Ogden, Utah, which is situated at a point where the railroad, emerging from Weber Canyon, meets another railroad running from Salt Lake City to Idaho and the west coast. Ogden is a geographical rebuke to the settlement of Salt Lake City, which is a church town with an economic foundation in mining and stock-raising, established by Brigham Young as headquarters for the Mormon people. It is not

so advantageously located for the flow of commerce as if it were situated fifty miles to the north, though it may be nearer the heart of agricultural Utah. So Ogden arose as a railroad suburb of Salt Lake City.

Man's part in the building of cities tends to be cumulative. He may determine the direction either accidentally or deliberately, but in either case the development is likely to gain so much momentum that he loses conscious control and has little choice but to conform and adjust himself to the changing nature of things as best he can. He initiates, for instance, a definite economic program, let us say, in the cities along the fall line of the Atlantic Coast states — industrial centers located at points where there is water-power. Some are still important industrial cities, although the use of water-power for manufacturing has been decreasing for a number of decades. Those cities with textile mills are carrying on an industry to which fuel has to be transported some distance and raw goods even farther. An explanation which is a matter of social psychology enters here.[9] In a specific community, labor skill as well as common labor is developed with reference to an industry or a group of related industries, and with reference to these occupations grow up local traditions and folk habits. With continued associational contacts, the industry, its interests, and ideology become incorporated in the culture of the people, and their lives incorporated into the processes of production of the particular commodity they make. Just as the people of Brittany identify themselves in their daily thinking with fishing and the sea, so the people of a textile town become identified with that industry. What happens if the industry changes from water-power to coal? Because of its large investment in the cultural heritage of the community, the industry is not likely to move away. Moreover, with reference to all the agencies of communication and transportation, it is identified with that locality.

Geography and Urban Functions

Conditioning subsequent activities, this cultural momentum of human communities and their occupational activities is nowhere better shown than in the automobile industry which centers at Detroit and Flint, Michigan. Why should it concentrate here and not in Chicago or Pittsburgh or some other city already engaged in the manufacture of metal products? If we remember that the automobile began as a competitor to the carriage, a wooden and not a metal product, this is not difficult to understand. It was another vehicle, in this case driven by its own power. Taking over the traditions of carriage-making, it settled in a region of carriage-making. Eventually outgrowing a number of carriage-making crafts which it had adopted, it developed new crafts of its own, but built upon a foundation where carriage-making had rested for centuries. It acquired its own skill, but on the site of the declining industry. As it shook itself free from this background, it evolved a psychology and a trade parlance of its own. In its spatial and functional relations the new industry learned to identify itself and to be identified with this specific locality, a situation under which it would be commercially hazardous to migrate.

If we tried to find out why carriage-making, the initial industry of the region, was located in lower Michigan and upper Indiana, we should be forced back upon an explanation essentially geographical — the raw materials were available here and it was convenient. For the same reason Gary and other steel centers are located on Lake Michigan — one of the most convenient places for the meeting of coal and iron.[10]

For geographical reasons, cities may become pleasure centers or health resorts. Everywhere convenient to large centers of population are urban pleasure resorts, sea-coast cities (Atlantic City, Los Angeles), mountain cities (Colorado Springs, the

cities of Switzerland), climatic retreats (Miami, Los Angeles, coast of Maine towns, Victoria), and health centers (Hot Springs, Denver). Advertising and other human efforts may boost some cities in excess of their natural resources, but the geographical factor is always present in some degree.

The most obviously man-made are the capital cities and the institutional towns. We have already mentioned Leningrad. Capital cities are political or religious or both.[11] Sometimes capital cities achieve prestige for no other reason than to gain or wield control. Jerusalem, being the home city of Christianity, attracts many tourists. So Rome, the headquarters for the Roman Catholic Church, is the mecca for tourists who make and support trade. As political headquarters, it attracts and supports military attachés, politicians and others. Washington — chiefly a community of clerks and officials — illustrates how extensive a factor the headquarters function can be in building up a city. In almost every state where the capitol is not situated in one of the industrial cities, a similar effect is noted. Examples are Lincoln, Nebraska, Salt Lake City, Utah, and Austin, Texas, which are also educational headquarters for their respective states. Traditionally the centers of learning were at the seats of authority, reminiscent of the days when education lived by the grace of the rulers. We have also many exclusively college towns, such as Ann Arbor, Michigan; Nashville, Tennessee; Eugene, Oregon. Often institutional towns grow up around some health center or sanitarium. At Battle Creek, Michigan, for instance, health and health food have become a great industry, but the Battle Creek health industry is not now, if it ever was, a result of geographical conditions.

With reference to the natural and human factors in the location and building of cities we may say that man has choice within certain limits. When he tries to exceed these bounds, nature halts him in one way or another. The natural barriers are many, but they may be reduced to a few fundamentals. Indeed, they have been and are diminishing in number and importance in

direct proportion to man's ability to improve the state of the arts. Bruhnes names three: space, distance, and difference of level — facts which in fundamental geography "are becoming more and more the sovereign masters of men." [12] Space is fundamental because of the demands which human beings make upon it and because it is limited. According to the varying productiveness of space in different sections, occupants pile up on it or spread out. As the arts vary from place to place or as productivity changes from time to time, movement or circulation is facilitated or hampered by the more obviously geographical factors, distance and difference of level. The distribution of life varies with conditions. The variations resolve themselves into two essential types: differences of distance and of productivity. Differences of distance involve vertical and horizontal distance, both of which are significant in the matter of transportation. The City of Mexico, for example, with 470,000 inhabitants, is 7,730 feet above the sea and La Pez, Bolivia, a city of 100,000 inhabitants, is 12,139 feet above the sea. Elevating materials for consumption from the seaports to these heights is a difficult traffic problem. Thus distance up or out is a barrier in proportion to the cost of transportation. Simply because rivers, seas, swamps, deserts, and mountains occupy space, they are obstacles requiring expenditure of energy in going from point to point, but the swiftness of rivers, the width of seas, the tangled nature of swamps, the sand and heat of the deserts, and the height of the mountains often render travel even more difficult.

Geography and Urban Growth

If a city grows at all, the nature of its development is also a matter of geographical import. American cities over the half-million class have grown so rapidly that the extent to which they have been helped or hindered by the geographical lay of the land is easily observable. Greater New York began as a cluster of cities around a harbor, the focal point of which was the shore

of Manhattan. With the growth of commerce, the harbor facilities widened to the other shores of the East River and the Hudson, touching Long Island and the New Jersey side. In spite of the barriers, the development of New York tends to be in concentric circles. The center of population, as transportation facilities made it possible, moved up Manhattan Island, then toward the Bronx. Gradually as the bridges were constructed over and the tubes under the East River, the center of population moved toward Brooklyn and Queens. For residential purposes, the East River had ceased to be a barrier. The New Jersey side of the Hudson, near in point of distance but accessible only by ferry boats, remained sparsely settled. Made easier of access by the Hudson tubes, this region has become more thickly settled and with the completion of vehicular tunnels and the proposed bridges, expansion will begin to turn toward Jersey City and Hoboken. Thus the development of each and every point on the periphery of New York City is conditioned by its accessibility to lower Manhattan.[13] In every instance accessibility has been a matter of geographical situation, however much other factors, such as land values, congestion, and transportation, have figured.

Pittsburgh, at the junction of two rivers, is an instance showing how barriers determine the direction of urban expansion. The focal point is the downtown "golden triangle" and the city has expanded back between the banks of the rivers rather than crossing to climb either of the opposite embankments. When pressure was sufficiently great, the city spread across the Allegheny River towards Woods Run, the direction of least resistance. Philadelphia, on the Delaware River, began at one point on the river bank and spread in all directions on the Pennsylvania side. Now that Camden on the New Jersey side of the Delaware is connected by a bridge, a general rounding out of the circle is in prospect. Similar situations are found with Minneapolis and St. Paul on opposite sides of the Mississippi, and farther down, St. Louis and East St. Louis. In Europe, river cities generally divide

their expansion between the two sides of the stream, as Paris, beginning on an island in the Seine, has done.

Normally the growth of a community is parallel to the road. Any village in its initial stage consists of a line of properties on both sides of the road. Some European villages consist of a double line of buildings touching one another, thus shutting in the street between two walls. In some places the common street is customarily used as an enclosure for animals during the night, a gate being thrown across each end. If the village is at the junction of two roads, buildings grow along all four streets. When development reaches a certain point, cross streets fill in. Ancient cities are a medley of short and long streets, wandering in the direction once indicated by need. The cities of crooked streets that grew without plan, although in decided contrast to our American cities of rectangular blocks and gridiron streets, seem none the less to conform faithfully to the lay of the land, and the patterns of such towns may be said to be topographically determined. They developed along the lines of least resistance, following this trail or that road as convenience dictated. Note how the residential suburbs of Chicago have shot out towards the west, the northwest, and the north along the steam railroads used by the commuters. Perhaps even a better example is Indianapolis, Indiana, which tends toward a circular extension. Yet at points around the periphery where it is approached by railways and highways, there are noticeable extensions, forming at the edges, barriers permitting, a starlike growth with a tendency to fill in later the space between the points which continue to follow the lines of transportation.

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. D. C. Ridgley says: " The geography of any region is interpreted through a study of its cities. The cities of a region are interpreted geographically only as they are related to the surrounding country, to

each other, and to distant regions." *Jour. of Geog.*, Feb., 1925. With this in mind, consider the relation between some particular city and its geography. See in this connection Almon E. Perkins, *The Historical Geography of Detroit*, or J. P. Goode, *The Geographic Background of Chicago*. The journals on geography contain occasional articles in line with the interests of urban sociology, for example " Selected Cities in the U. S.," *Jour. Geog.* 21 (1922):205–42.

2. The relation between climate and culture is often made the basis of sharp distinctions in temperament, capacity for self-government, etc. Thus, some insist that *Fascism* is appropriate for Latin people, but that it would prove wholly unsuitable for the so-called Anglo-Saxon or Nordic peoples. Search for evidences of such causal inter-relationships, and discuss various cultural differences from this point of view. Is it, for example, sound logic to affirm that *Fascism* is indigenous to the Italians because of the climate in which they live?

3. Prepare outline maps of the United States and use these to indicate certain geographical features; analyze these features with the purpose of discovering whether or not there are any observable correlations between geographical facts, and between geographical and human facts. Thus, some geographers state that there is always a definite relationship between fertility of soil, rainfall, density of vegetation, altitude, and density of population. Again, it is presumed that soil becomes more fertile, rain more abundant, and hence plant and human life more abundant as one approaches the sea from the inland. It might be advisable to begin this project by isolating one factor, such as the altitude of the cities of the United States.

4. The city of Pittsburgh is located at the junction of two rivers in a coal region. Which should be called " site " and which " location " ? List the important cities of your region, or of the continent, and ascribe to each its site and its location.

5. The ancient city was built according to the principle of defense; the modern city is built according to the principle of the market. Discuss this discrimination in terms of other distinctions between ancient and modern cities.

6. The cities of Europe are commonly planned so that main streets or arteries encircle their centers in concentric rings (" Ringstrasse ") which are transected by lateral streets running from the periphery to the center in radial fashion. Why does it happen that American cities are, for the most part, designed on the pattern of the gridiron or rectangle? Discuss also Major L'Enfant's plan for the capital city, Washington.

7. The term " break in transportation " is perhaps clarified by

thinking of the analogy of a stream of water; so long as the stream is moving at a moderate rate, all of its contents are carried along, but when anything impedes its flow, the heavier particles in the stream begin to sink to the bottom. In terms of this concept, Prof. Cooley has proposed the principle that "population and wealth tend to gather where there is a break in transportation." Discuss this principle in terms of the growth of certain cities and the stagnation of others. Also, discuss the principle in terms of economic phenomena. Why, for example, is the silk trade located in New York rather than upon the western seacoast where the silk arrives by importation? Discuss the principle further in terms of more recent modes of transportation and communication, the radio and the airplane, for example.

8. In military language, certain cities become key-points; the capture of such cities means greater victory than larger gains elsewhere. Shanghai may be illustrative for the recent Cantonese invasion, Port Arthur in the Russo-Japanese War, and Richmond, Virginia, in the Civil War. Discuss the meaning of this term "key-city" in relation to political factors and in relation to geographical factors. What part does the hinterland play in determining the strategic importance of a city? Does the same importance attach to economic affairs?

9. Analyze the so-called "booster" literature of cities which have enjoyed little or no growth in recent years. Study the claims made by the "boosters" in relation to geographical factors.

10. Study a number of the so-called "twin-cities" in the United States, that is, cities built upon opposite banks of rivers. Analyze the differences between the two cities and indicate insofar as possible whether these distinctions are attributable to geographical variations. Also, indicate the conflicts between such cities.

11. European capital cities tend to be also centers of industry, commerce, education, and art. Capital cities in the United States tend to be restricted in function. How may this difference be explained?

12. New York, Atlantic City, Miami, Hot Springs, Colorado Springs, Los Angeles, and Asheville are leading recreational centers in the United States. Discuss the varying recreational appeals made by each center and indicate the part geography plays in these distinctions.

13. The capital of Mexico, Mexico City, is situated some 7000 feet above sea level. Discuss its size and importance in terms of this factor of altitude.

14. Draw diagrams of certain rapidly growing cities, indicating the directions in which growth takes place. Is this pattern determined solely by geographical factors?

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. Geography is frequently described as the science which defines the earth. Its divisions are usually: (a) comparative geography; (b) political; (c) physical; (d) mathematical; (e) commercial; (f) human.
2. See *The Environmental Basis of Society*, by Franklin Thomas, Century, 1925; also *Regional Sociology*, by R. Mukerjee, Century, 1926.
3. *Economic Geography*, by Whitbeck and Finch, McGraw-Hill, 1924.
4. *Human Geography*, by Jean Bruhnes, Rand McNally, 1920. In this connection, it is well to read the writings of Frederick Ratzel. A good article on the transportation development of roads in a region regulated by the interplay of demand and accessibility is "Geographic Factors in the Development of Transportation in South America," by Preston James, *Economic Geography*, July, 1925.
5. Note in *Scientific Monthly*, Feb., 1927.
6. See "Geographic Principles in the Study of Cities," by Douglass Ridgley, *Journal of Geography*, Vol. 25 (Feb., 1925), pp. 66–78. In this article, Ridgley develops Cooley's theory of transportation (Publications American Economic Association No. 9, 1894) and gives it a geographic application.
7. "The Rise of the Metropolitan Community," by N. S. B. Gras, in *The Urban Community*, ed. by E. W. Burgess, U. of Chicago, 1926.
8. *New York Times*, 12/18/27. Article by Hallett Abend.
9. See "F. O. B. Detroit," *Outlook*, Vol. 3 (1915) pp. 980–986, which shows the psychological effect on people of the building of the automobile industry in the Detroit region.
10. *The Geographic Background of Chicago*, by J. Paul Goode, U. of Chicago, 1926, shows the relation between coal, iron, and transportation.
11. An article on the location, life, and interests of capital cities, by F. Homberg, is found in the *Journal of Geography*, Jan., 1920.
12. *Human Geography*, J. Bruhnes, p. 621.
13. Mark Jefferson's article, "Anthropography of Some Great Cities: A Study in the Distribution of Population," *Bulletin of American Geographic Society*, Vol. 41:537–566.
14. The following readings are listed for their bearing on the chapter: a. *A Practical Guide Across Old Paris*, M. de Rodhegude and M.

Dumolin (600 pp.), shows how Paris is the result of topographical, social, political, and other forces.

b. *The Relations of Geography and History*, H. B. George, Oxford, 1903.

c. " The Influence of the Geology of Scotland on the Scottish People," Ralph Richardson, *Scottish Geographic Magazine*, Vol. 26 (1908), pp. 449–464.

d. " Geographical Causes Determining the Location of Cities," Ellen C. Semple, *Journal School Geography* 1 (1897) 225–231. One of the early articles reflecting a trend in geographical research that started with Ratzel and Ritter in Germany.

II

THE CITY: AN ECOLOGICAL FACT

Society as a Symbiosis

Sociological inquiry may begin by asking: Why do human beings tend to form associations, groups, communities, societies? In other words, what are the basic reasons which explain the social aspects of man's nature? In terms of our present inquiry the question is: Why do men build cities?

Again we may find helpful clues by reference to older and more exact sciences.[1] Botanists and zoölogists have observed that all plants and animals tend to live in communities.

> Certain species group themselves into natural associations, that is to say, into communities which we meet with more or less frequently and which exhibit the same combination of growth-forms and the same facies. As example in northern Europe may be cited a meadow with its grasses and perennial herbs, or a beech forest with its beech trees and all the species usually accompanying these. Species that form a community must either practise the same economy, making approximately the same demands on their environment (as regards nourishment, light, moisture, and so forth), or one species present must be dependent for its existence upon another species. . . . A kind of *symbiosis* seems to prevail between such species.[2]

The basic fact of all life is the tendency to live and reproduce; any single plant of any species would, if circumstances permitted, reproduce until its progeny covered the earth. But other plants are in possession of certain areas and each plant must somehow adjust itself to its situation. In any given habitat the plants of different species, sharing as they do both space and nourishment, must achieve a balanced relation.

Symbiosis, or life-association, the method by which plants have arrived at this goal, involves struggle and adaptation. The tendency of offspring is to take root as near as possible to the mother plant. The acorn, for example, which falls to the ground would sprout on the spot if it could. If the acorn falls on a place which is shaded by the mother tree, it cannot take root. Another kind of plant, however, might readily flourish in this shaded spot; indeed it might even grow on the trunk of the oak itself. But the acorn must take root farther away and here it will be obliged to compete with other acorns or with plants of other species. In the course of this process of struggle and adaptation, the area of oaks will become wider and wider, and at certain points, oak trees will tend to grow in closer proximity to one another. Where the young plants meet the least opposition, oaks will be thickest; where competition is sharp, oak trees will be scarcest.

The Ecological Point of View

This difference between scarcity and density, sparseness and profusion, represents a relation established with the environment. In order to take root and grow the young oak tree needs an environmental setting in which both the proper quality and the proper quantity of food is available. If it cannot flourish on the kind and amount of food available in any given spot, it must give way to other plants. Although the primary environmental consideration for living organisms is food-supply, climate, temperature, moisture, wind velocity, etc., are also important factors, and altitude, animal life, fires, floods, storms, and parasites influence life and growth. Moreover, members of the same species are frequently the chief competitors for space and nourishment. The science which aims to discover and explain this complex of relations between growing plants and animals and their respective habitats is known as *ecology*.[8]

Reasoning by analogy, students of sociology have more recently begun to speculate, or speaking perhaps more correctly,

to gather facts concerning, the nature of human groupings and their relation to specific environments. Human ecology is in reality a new name for an old sociological interest. Most sociologists have always believed "that the habits and arts of men are determined in a way similar to bionomical convergence in groups of plants and animals under particular conditions of life,"[4] but they have been tardy in making observations to support this belief. Plant, animal, and human levels afford striking parallels, as a cursory analysis of human groupings will reveal. Before pushing the analogy too far it may be well to examine features of differentiation and distinction. Because of greater mobility—capacity to move in space—all animal life has an advantage over plant life. Man, however, is more than mobile; he is capable also of movement in time.[5] His ability to recall (memory), to project (imagination), and to use symbols of communication (language) affects his behavior fundamentally. These so-called mental traits which have come to be dominant in man's behavior combine to make man an active agent with respect to his environment. Plants and most animals must of necessity accept the physical environment much as they find it; man, on the other hand, is able to live in a wider area of choice; he can, within certain limits, change his habitat, alter his environment. Plants are, for the most part, sessile; when they move about, the propulsion comes, not from themselves, but from external agents. Animals can move about and thus avoid, for example, injuries. Man can do all of this and, in addition, can foresee dangers; he can visualize in advance situations which he may be called upon to meet. "What sets off human freedom from other kinds of natural freedom is the immeasurable difference between the inner nature of man and that of all other natural objects."[6] Man has the advantage of being able to think in terms of symbols—words and communicable concepts—and through these and other advantages over lower animals he is able to set up a social heritage or a cumulative culture.

With these distinctions in mind we may resume our analogy.

Man modifies his environment; he may cause it to produce more food, for example, than would have grown if nature had been left to itself. But ultimately man too may be limited in his capacity to modify his natural environment and will then be as dependent on it as are plants and animals. He needs to adjust himself precisely as plants and animals must, namely, arrive at a balance of life in relation to his habitat. Changes in the habitat which disturb this balance force him to seek another balance or suffer annihilation. The disappearance of certain species, such as the dinosaurs, from the face of the earth, is commonly assumed to have been due to inability to adjust their needs to a disturbed environmental situation. On the other hand, changes in the environment frequently make it possible for species to increase their numbers and extend the area of their habitat. This inter-relation between organism and habitat is excellently illustrated by the case of the chahalis, a species of rodent or beaver inhabiting the Olympic Mountains of the Northwest. The chahalis is a burrowing animal much like a prairie dog, but it has also developed the habit of garnering twigs, stems, leaves, etc., which it stores for future use as food and nesting material. Until man arrived on the scene, its habitat was a small area high in the mountains. The story of the attempt of the chahalis to restore balance to a disturbed habitat is fascinatingly told by E. B. Webster in *The King of the Olympics:*

Of late years since nature's balance has been disturbed by the killing of wildcats, wolves, hawks, owls, the beaver has multiplied amazingly and, the mountain ridges and parks being over-crowded, has gradually worked on down the valleys, even to the edge of the salt water. This has brought him in numbers along the edge of every farm, where he has promptly availed himself of such herbage as he might there find, but showing a particular fondness for cabbage, potatoes, and other garden stuff. There followed unsuccessful efforts upon the part of the ranchers to eliminate the animals by the poison route, for, though they might clean out those in the immediate vicinity, always there were thousands of others ready to overflow from the hills above. Besides, the hundreds of dead bodies, contaminating springs and streams

in the vicinity of homes, are always a serious menace to the health of both persons and stock. Trapping merely holds them in check from day to day. . . .

. . . He is a true mountain animal, abundant where food is abundant, whether the soil be wet or dry, but not where food is not plentiful. . . . In those regions where nature's balance has not been interfered with, at least to any great extent, the animals have not increased sufficiently to spread over the lower mountain slopes. Thus in this locality we have the beavers working on the side of the gulches within the town of Port Angeles, in fact, directly underneath the front step of the county's court-house, while over on the other side of the Mt. Angeles-Hurricane Divide there are very few beavers to be found below the four-thousand-foot level.

Disturbances to the Balance

Many other illustrations of rapid increase due to fluctuation in the habitat may be cited. The case of the English sparrow is probably best-known. In its native habitat the sparrow is no more a nuisance than the robin is on this continent, but once imported, its increase here spread rapidly from coast to coast, flooding the countryside and thriving in cities as no other bird seems able to do. Familiar also is the history of the rabbit after it was introduced to Australia as a pet; in a few years rabbits threatened to monopolize all plant life. Some alarmists are now predicting that rats will sometime increase to such an extent as to endanger man's existence, and more than one noted entomologist has prophesied a similar catastrophe on the basis of the rapid spread of insects. On the botanical level, it is well known that certain weeds remain relatively stable when in their normal habitats, but once the habitat is altered by cultivation they begin to spread with incredible rapidity.

Plants, even better than animals, reflect the environment in which they live. We have no truer index to the entire environment than plant life which not only indicates the nature of the climate and the soil, but also conditions animal life over the surface of the earth. Directly or indirectly plants constitute the food

supply for the animal life of the earth including man; consequently the density, the scarcity or the absence of vegetation becomes the determining influence in the extent as well as the nature of animal life. Theirs is the initial struggle for food and in their competitive relationships plants arrive at the initial ecological equilibrium wherein each species arrives at some balanced relation to every other species of the habitat. Also there evolves a quantitative equilibrium between plants as food supply and animals as consumers just as between herbivorous and carnivorous animals there ultimately must be a numerical balance. While man is less susceptible to the conditions of vegetation, he is in the main confined to the regions of plant life and as plant life is dense or rare so his numbers are many or few.

The ecological problem for human communities is to discover how far this double rule of biology, this dual bionomic process (increase of the species when the change in habitat is favorable and decrease when the change is unfavorable) applies, and to what extent it influences the life of cities. The following illustrations will aid us in this search:

A. During the earlier medieval centuries the most marked characteristic of society was its stability. With the middle of the fourteenth century changes become more prominent. Some of the most conspicuous of these gather around a series of attacks of epidemic diseases during the latter half of the century. . . . From much careful examination of several kinds of contemporary evidence it seems almost certain that as each locality was successively attacked in 1348 and 1349 something like half of the population died. In other words, whereas in an ordinary year at that time perhaps one-twentieth of the people died, in the plague year one-half died.[1]

B. Figures were quoted showing that on 100 acres it would be possible to support 420 people with potatoes but only 15 people if the land was producing grass for beef. . . . The Irish tried that experiment a century ago. In their squalid hovels they produced children without limit and expanded the population of their small island from about 4,500,000 in 1801 to over 8,000,000 in 1841. Then nature stepped in and the potato famine of 1846 swept away hundreds of thousands of

these wretched peasants who had been living all their lives on the verge of starvation.[8]

C. As a consequence of this great expansion in the production of foodstuffs, we meet with an exceptionally large increase in population in Germany. In the nineteenth century, Europe presents an immense advance in the field of agricultural production, accompanied by a great increase in the European population, far exceeding any such increase in the past. There ensues a period in which the increase in population, due to the above cause, moves faster than the increase in the means of subsistence. The result is: emigration to America.[9]

D. Thus the industrialisation of the world seems inevitably to lead to the growth of large towns, and the relative or even absolute reduction of the rural population. . . . It would not be fair to attribute the whole of this urbanising process to machine industry, for it must be remembered that nearly two thousand years before steam machinery was invented Rome had grown to gigantic dimensions.[10]

In these four illustrations it is to be observed that environmental factors may cause either a decrease or an increase in population and that the kinds of changes which take place in the habitat (even those initiated by man himself, such as machine industry) tend to condition and determine the kinds of communities in which men live. Any human community would, the situation permitting, extend its borders indefinitely. Assuming, for example, equality in the use of the arts and technologies, every hamlet would expand into a village, every village into a town, and every town into a metropolitan city. But communities differ in location, material resources, the use of the arts and technologies, and in many other ways. In addition, human communities compete with one another. Some grow at the expense of others, and crowding and pyramiding of population results. People are frequently attracted to the larger cities until numbers increase to the point of discomfort. Thus psychological factors supplement natural advantages. In the end, however, it is safe to state that those cities which are most suitably located with respect to routes of communication and are most richly endowed by nature, tend to increase in competition with and often at the expense of those communities less favorably situated.

Competition between communities precipitates an ecological

problem. Its background lies, of course, in competition between individuals. Whenever human beings increase in numbers to the point of congestion (space relations) and to the point of deficiency in food supply, the competitive process sets in, and save for the remaining unsettled areas of the surface of the earth, it may be assumed that this condition is being approached everywhere. Competition among human beings is in basic terms comparable with the struggle for existence which goes on among animals. Although the struggle on the human level seems to be less brutal, it is none the less effective. Man's emotional equipment, his capacity to envisage the conflict and the competitor in advance, tend to modify the forms and influence the intensity of competition, but do not lessen its reality. Another modifying factor is man's capacity to live at some distance from his source of food-supply. The space occupied by man and the space which supplies his food need not be the same. By methods of coöperation and the development of the arts, he can establish interdependent exchanges of supplies which enable him to draw upon the resources of many regions. This fact does not, obviously, increase the net total of available food-supplies, but it does make possible the support of large aggregations of people in communities separated from their food sources. It permits, for example, a mining camp to exist on a barren hillside and it permits millions of people to live on the narrow, rocky Island of Manhattan and other millions to live in the marshes of lower Lake Michigan. New York City and Chicago have grown to be metropolitan communities because men discovered means for bringing food and other supplies long distances.

> We (New York City) draw our supply of fresh fruits and vegetables an average of 1500 miles; our supply of butter, cheese, eggs and poultry an average distance of 1000 miles; and even our fluid milk a distance of 200 miles.[11]

Mobility and Competition for Space

City-dwellers exchange either services or refined goods for these supplies and this indirect method of distribution and

exchange, facilitated by human culture which lower forms of life do not have, and by man's almost limitless mobility, is the basis of modern economic society of which the two important aspects are: (a) division of labor or specialization, and (b) interdependence of people who are separated by great distances.

Ecologically speaking, the mobility of man differs only in degree from the mobility of lower forms of animal life. He moves through space as he is negatively or positively stimulated; that is, he shifts his position as he is impelled or attracted. For practical purposes, if his movements were viewed from afar, it would be found that he follows the same general laws of movement that govern lower forms — that is, except for the speed with which he moves, the methods he uses and the distance he goes. A semblance of order would appear in his movements, but there is also order in the movements of animals, birds, insects, and even in the method by which the plant community expands or recedes. Each form of life, to the degree that it is mobile or sessile, is submitting to the behavior patterns dictated by the situation in which it lives.

In common with other organisms, man tends to migrate from areas of density to areas of sparseness; or from areas of diminishing food supply to areas of abundance. Huntington found that most mass migrations started in seasons of little rainfall, that is, with a diminishing food supply the surplus population had to move, going in the most promising direction along the lines of least resistance.[12] When we speak of density or sparseness, we are not referring to the number of persons to the acre or the square mile, but the *number to the acre or the square mile for the use to which the area is put*. To illustrate, let us assume a newly settled productive region such as Oklahoma.

At first Oklahoma had a sparse population of Indians, who lived by hunting. Dispossessing them, the whites converted the buffalo ranges into stock ranches, and the area was able to support more people than it had during the hunting economy. A few villages had existed previously, but now there were many. Rail-

roads were built and more people flocked in. But to live by stock-raising was impossible even though improvement of methods and breeds was attempted. Some therefore went to farming, to raising cotton, corn, and grain. With an agricultural economy the number of villages increased further, some becoming small towns, although nothing more than commercial centers. Without some economic re-arrangement no populous communities could develop. Then with the discovery of oil, industry began. More villages became towns and two towns at least, Tulsa and Oklahoma City, grew to be metropolitan centers. As the population increased, farming was intensified to meet the augmented demands for food on the part of the city-dwellers. With the prospect of more industries, the total population will be able to multiply still further. Thus each new economic arrangement permits an increase of population *per square mile*.[13]

The question arises: why does the surplus of rural population crowd into the city where congestion is so much greater? In some parts congestion is actually so intense that plant and animal life cannot subsist except in a parasitic way: animals as pets, plants as ornaments. For answer we need only remember how dominant the city is in the metropolitan economy which gives to the urban centers a concentration of food control. Here is the hub of distribution of all commodities and here all roads intersect. People congregate because food and jobs are concentrated. The city and its background constitute a conglomeration of occupational areas all put to different use but each sustaining the population density which the use justifies. Constantly submitting to pressure, these areas change to a use of space which enables them to accommodate fewer or more inhabitants, and determined by pressure and advantages, the movement shifts to and fro.

Migrations and Successions

Wherever migration takes place, some form of invasion results — in fact, invasion is an accomplished migration. In the

human community, invasions are as varied and numerous as the types of migrants. An effective invasion is the consequence of a gradual pushing at the border where a constant drive is imperative if a species is to maintain its limits. At every point of its habitat, that is, a species must make a constant bid for the occupancy of space. Although a great waste of reproductive energy is involved, without this struggle the hold of the species would weaken and the bars would be down for invasion. Thus the loss of one species is always the gain of another. Invasion may be classed as (a) continuous or intermittent, (b) complete or partial, and (c) permanent or temporary. All things being equal, the pressure at the border would be even and continuous and the same in all directions. This is not the case, however; the pressure is very uneven according to the times and seasons and is always more persistent in some directions than in others.[14]

People are constantly shifting. Invasions are always taking place. Linked and inter-related, each invasion tends to be a stimulus to other movements. The Negroes enter the northern cities and establish themselves in white territory, displacing Italians, Poles, Jews, etc. These in turn invade other areas from which previous occupants gradually move. Usually the invasion is at a point of least advantage but of high mobility, and it moves toward the areas of more convenience and advantage. To meet his communal needs, man has created various space-occupying utilities which complicate invasions. He sets aside space for commercial use, pleasure, industry, for institutions of various kinds. He builds bridges, railroads, turnpikes, canals. Competing with each other and with him for the use of space, these structural occupations at times actually unfit space for other uses. For instance, a soap factory or a slaughter-house, because of odors, renders a locality useless except for other industrial occupants. Zoning ordinances are often resorted to in an attempt to protect residential communities against these invasions.

The most obvious fact concerning a community of organic life is that something is constantly happening. The stage is for-

ever being re-arranged, habitats are always changing, and life is constantly being renewed. With every shift of the scene, the ecologist faces the problem of re-defining the content as well as the relations of his field of study. This endless renewal of life, wherein by migration and invasion one occupant is displaced by another, has been designated *ecological succession*. In habitats where various kinds of occupants share the same area, succession often implies that the dominant species has been replaced. This calls for a re-orientation of the other occupants in relation to one another. Succession is a stage in occupancy, and once a related occupancy has evolved, we have an accomplished invasion. Potential invaders are constantly penetrating any habitat, but if a balanced relationship exists between present occupants and if the food supply is already monopolized, these attempts are fruitless. The way is open for invaders only when something happens to disturb this related and balanced occupancy. Succession assumes one or the other of two forms, a change of use or of occupants. In the case of the latter, the use remains constant; for instance, in a residential area, wave after wave of population occupies the same buildings. If they differ, it is in class, beginning with the upper levels and ending with the very poor and least discriminating. As the buildings have to be removed, a change of use follows, or the area is rebuilt for first-class residences. Then once more, moving down the social scale with a corresponding decline in the structures, population again succeeds population.

Barriers to Movement

Movement, the circulation of life, is characteristic of the whole gamut of organic change. Anything that breaks the line of movement, either to halt or to divert it, is a barrier, the basic negator of change. Organisms circulate as they are accessible to the currents of movements, or in the human community, to the lines of transportation; that is, the accessible community is most subject to invasion and succession. Barriers — the forbidding

forces in the environment — are effective to the degree that they inhibit or prevent such movement. We may class barriers as physical, biotic, and human. Physical barriers are primarily geographical, topographical, or relate to soil, climate, etc. With minor exceptions, whatever is a barrier to plant and animal life, such as extremes of heat, cold, altitude, aridity, and moisture, also hinders comfortable human occupation. Plant and animal life, insofar as man cannot control it, is a barrier. Until he invented the microscope and learned something of their behavior, micro-organisms hindered him. Density of plant life, as in a swamp, or the absence of it, as in the desert, arrest him. Equally forbidding are distance and topography. The rich copper mines in the Grand Canyon of the Colorado cannot be exploited because of these last-named factors: getting supplies in and the ore out would be too costly. Human barriers are of two kinds, social and structural. The first are essentially racial, national, and cultural. Diverted or blocked in their movements by the presence of those of whom they do not approve, people move, if possible, in another direction. Structural barriers include such utilities as roads, railroad tracks, parks, buildings, factories.

Barriers are effective in proportion to the capacity of the organism to move. The plant is the most helpless of organisms and the most dependent upon outside agents. The animal is mobile but, forced to eat where the food actually grows, even its mobility is limited to its capacity to move from one food supply to another. A mountain or a desert or a forest that might completely turn back one kind of animal may only partially check another while to birds it may prove no hindrance at all. Before many barriers man in his primitive state was as helpless as the animals — impeded by bodies of water, waste places, and not a little by animal life.[15] But he learned to tame and use the animals, and, by developing the arts, to discipline nature, relaying his way across deserts, tunneling through mountains and under rivers, sailing the seas, and preserving food and storing it against the hard seasons. More recently, since learning to make machines, he has

rendered all but impotent the ordinary barriers. He is pressing into service every available part of the surface of the earth. Perhaps he is most helpless in the face of the barriers that he himself creates — conveniences set up for one purpose which become impediments against other uses of natural resources. He may dig up the earth for gold, but at the same time he destroys that much space for food supply; or he may establish factories that render large regions unsuitable for residence. Besides the biological significance, the effect of the barrier upon human society may by cultural isolation prevent progress. A physically isolated people, and hence a culturally isolated people, tends to settle into ruts of self-satisfied complacency, even resisting (as the Japanese resisted Perry) attempts from without to break in. In certain rural sections of the United States, particularly in the mountains of the South, may be found such isolated regions, though they are rapidly being invaded. However, in Canada in some of the isolated French communities may be found groups that have been relatively static for generations. The French they speak is said to be the French of two centuries ago.

The Ecological Method

Human ecology, then, is a bird's-eye view of man, the behaving organism in a material world. It studies him remotely and impersonally as a human animal in an environmental situation responding, as does any other organism, to the stimuli of a changing world. Man belongs to the earth, to use Ratzel's expression, because he is a "portion of the earth." So man finds himself in a world of forces, competing for sustenance and space with other humans and with all other forms of life. He rises above all other forms of life because he has to his credit such factors of intelligence as imagination, memory, language, and a cultural heritage. By developing the arts, he has learned to manipulate things beyond the capacity of the most advanced animals. By perfecting more and more his communal organization he has knit into a

single extensive economic order the whole habitable producing earth. To meet his sustenance needs he is in contact with an infinite number of points of production remote from each other in different parts of the earth. He claims other want-satisfying commodities or services than those immediately at hand. Thus he is able to congregate in centers and still have access to the necessities of life.

Obviously such a brief recognition of the relationship between human communities and associations of plants or animals can only be indicative. The analogical parallels, though they have been pointed out only in brief, could with profit be studied much further. If such investigations did no more than stir our attention by comparisons between plant and animal communities and human communities they would be more than justified. We note that since the dawn of civilization man has been a city builder, though he has never built a perfect city or even approached an ideal one. Yet throughout his career the communities that he has established have retained a striking degree of consistency with the situations. The city that is coming to be his natural home, although man-made, is not built altogether on patterns of his choosing. While it is a measure of his genius and a monument to his progress, and while he has some discretion as to minor details, he builds the kind of city the natural forces determine, the kind of city the situation permits. As cities become antiquated or inconvenient he renews them. The location of cities, the manner and direction of their growth, as well as their limits, are partly conditioned by forces beyond man's control. Topography, climate, natural resources, transportation, and other natural advantages or disadvantages are factors in deciding the nature, type, size, and arrangement of the community. These natural determinants have much to do in giving direction to the course of a community — whether it remains a hamlet, grows to be a village or a town, or develops finally into a metropolitan center.

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Plants, animals, and human beings succeed in living in certain places because of ecological circumstances. Describe the distinctions between each form of ecological accommodation.

2. What does reasoning by analogy from plant and animal ecology to human ecology reveal? In what sense is such reasoning misleading?

3. Symbiosis is the term used to describe a relation of living together; if, for example, oak trees are checked in their spread by another species of tree and then both species settle down into a continuing relationship with each other, this process of accommodation or life association may be called symbiosis. When a parasite lives upon another living plant or animal the relation may be called disjunctive symbiosis. The term symbiosis may be used in sociology as an analogy when people living upon the same environment learn modes of living together. Using the terms in this sense, what forms of symbiosis are revealed by city life?

4. Action and reaction between organisms and their environments mean that both the organisms and the environment are being changed. In what ways does man as a city-building animal alter his environment to make it more favorable? In what ways do his alterations of environment prove to be disadvantageous?

5. When immigrants come to a new country in large numbers they frequently settle in units. These nationality or cultural groups form small ecological islands within the established environment. What accommodations to the larger ecological factors do such groups need to make?

6. Density or sparseness of population is relative to the number of people to the acre or square mile considered in relation to the use made of the area. Why do different areas of the earth's surface permit varying densities of population? Other things being equal, what part does government play in determining the density of population?

7. Frederic Clements, a plant ecologist, traces four stages in ecological transition, namely, initiation, selection, continuation, and termination. In other terms he formulates these steps as follows: *nudation*, or laying bare the space; *migration*, or the invasion of plant life; *ecosis*, or the adaptation of plants to their habitat; *competition*, or the struggle for possession; and *reaction*, or overcoming opposition and pushing at the border; finally there is the balanced occupancy of the habitat in which the forms are adapted to each other, the food supply, and other elements of the environment, a stage which may be called *stabilization*. Trace the evolution of American cities in terms of these stages.

8. Read the article entitled "The Felled Tree: An Ecological Unit," by S. A. Graham, in *Ecology*, October, 1925, pages 397–412. Discuss his conception in terms of human ecological units.

9. After defining an ecological unit in terms of the use made of space, discuss various types of American communities based upon such uses as mining, agriculture, manufacturing, trading, etc.

10. "... Nearly two-thirds of the people of the earth are crowded into seven per cent of the lands. Evidently mankind is very partial to certain kinds of environments." (Ellsworth Huntington in *The Human Habitat*, page 26.) Discuss the reasons why so large a portion of the earth's surface is so sparsely inhabitated.

11. Discuss the following principles enunciated by E. Huntington in the final chapter of *The Human Habitat:*

(a) "Wherever the soil is highly fertile, the higher elements of the population are apt to form only a small minority, while the lower elements form a huge majority." (page 247.)

(b) "... the better the land, the larger the holdings of the rich and the smaller the holdings of the poor." (page 250.)

(c) "... under adverse conditions (poor soil, etc.), social contrasts of all kinds are reduced to a minimum, whereas under favorable conditions they are accentuated." (page 250.)

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. The method of reasoning employed when facts of one sphere or level are used for theorizing in another sphere or upon another level is called *analogy*. When such facts and theories tend to correspond, scientists usually presume that such correspondence offers a clue for fruitful researches. They do not assume that the corresponding features revealed by analogical reasoning or observation constitute proofs.

2. Adapted from Eugenius Warming, "Oecology of Plants," quoted by Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, Chicago, 1920.

3. For definition of ecology and ecological concepts with reference to plants, see *Research Methods in Ecology*, Univ. of Nebraska, 1905.

4 *Regional Sociology*, R. Mukerjee, New York, 1926, p. 75. An ecological approach to the study of sociology.

5. See Alfred Korzybski's *Manhood of Humanity*, New York, 1921, Ch. III.
6. *Fatalism or Freedom*, C. Judson Herrick, New York, 1926, p. 79.
7. *Industrial and Social History of England*, Edward P. Cheyney, Ch. V. "The Black Death and the Peasant's Rebellion," p. 99.
8. *The Problem of Population*, Harold Cox, New York, 1923, Ch. II. "The Economics of the Problem," p. 35.
9. *Bevölkerungslehre in Grundriss der Socialoekonomie*, P. Mompert, quoted and elaborated by N. Bukharin, *Historical Materialism*, New York, 1925, pp. 125–126.
10. *The Problem of Population*, Ch. II, p. 50.
11. *Lower City Distribution Costs for Farm Products*, W. P. Hedden, paper read to National Assoc. Marketing Officials, Chicago, 1926.
12. For this point of view of Ellsworth Huntington see *The Pulse of Asia*, 1907, or *Climate and Civilization*, 1924. A good short article on climate is "The Probable Effect of the Climate of the Russian Far East on Human Life and Activity," by Stanislaus Novakovsky, *Ecology*, 3:181–201, July, 1922.
13. See "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community," R. D. McKenzie, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, 30:287–301, Nov., 1924.
14. Another definition and discussion on the subject, "The Scope of *Ecology*," Barrington Moore, *Ecology*, 1:3–6, 1920. This magazine frequently contains articles treating the subject of ecology as it relates to sociology. For a geographer's view see H. H. Barrows, "Geography as Human Ecology," *Annual Assoc. of Amer. Geog.*, 13:1–14, Mar., 1923.
15. Read "The Isolation of the Lower St. Lawrence Valley," R. Peattie, *Geog. Rev.*, 5:102–18, Feb., 1918. An interesting comparison with this story of the French Canadians is D. H. Davis' study of isolation, "The Changing Rôle of the Kentucky Mountains and the Passing of the Kentucky Pioneer," *Jour. of Geog.*, 24:41–52, Feb., 1925. See also *The Kentucky Geological Survey*, D. H. Davis, Frankfort, Ky., 1924.
16. See *Introduction to Sociology*, Jerome Davis, H. E. Barnes, and others, New York, 1927, Ch. I, Book IV, "The Reconstruction of Society: Is it Possible?"
17. *The Ways of Living*, J. Arthur Thomson, London, 1920. A simply written volume dealing with individualistic ways of plants, animals, or human beings living in parasitic, communal, or other relations to each other.

III

THE CITY AND ITS HINTERLAND

The Metropolitan Area

Territory which is not included within the political or legal boundaries of the city may none the less constitute a part of its complete structure. Cities, being the dynamic units of modern civilization, always tend to overrun and exceed fixed boundaries and limits — arbitrary devices for administrative purposes, often out of harmony with the realities of urban areas and growth. In one sense the outlying districts may be regarded as the physical environment within which the city has its being — the conditioning fact which determines its character. The city proper and this territory — together forming complementary segments of a larger unity — are known, for want of a better term, as the *metropolitan area.*

The extent of the metropolitan area of any city may be determined by various tests. In an effort to visualize the city and its trading or commuting area, for example, the United States Census Bureau defines the term statistically:

> In general, the city with its adjacent territory, as here defined, includes, in addition to the central city, all cities, towns, villages or other civil divisions located within ten miles beyond the boundaries of the central city while the metropolitan district includes, besides the central city, only those divisions within the ten mile limit in which the population of the last census was at least 150 per square mile.[1]

So defined there were in the United States, according to the 1920 Census, 32 cities of over 200,000 population; of these 29 were metropolitan districts with a total population of 29,238,582; 7,127,202 of these people resided outside the central cities.

In 1926 the population of New York City was 5,924,000. On this basis, its metropolitan area contains 7,910,000 people, and the area of the city proper is 191,360 acres while the area of the total metropolitan district is 751,887 acres. But as such a definition has little sociological meaning, other students, having in mind the social and psychic reach of the city, include all places which read the metropolitan newspapers or tune in on its radio stations. Early in 1927 the Merchants Association of New York attempted a definition of greater New York. They pronounced a metropolitan district to be "an area within which the conditions of manufacturing, trade, transportation, labor and living — in brief, the daily economic and social life — are predominantly influenced by the central city." More recent estimates, based upon technical researches, indicate that the metropolitan area of New York City should include

> all the territory and population within a forty-mile radius of the City Hall. Roughly 9,500,000 people live in that area — 1,250,000 more inhabitants than all the states of New England combined. . . . The new boundary embraces 3,765 square miles of land. Only 1,368 square miles were included within the old district lines.[2]

To other students of the city all places and populations which maintain a social or recreational contact with the municipality comprise the metropolitan area. Any definition is, however, likely to fall short of describing the complete range of city influence and interest. The railroads, the automobile and wagon roads, and the steamship lines that radiate from the city constitute a network of communication coördinating into a related whole a great number of villages, towns, and smaller cities, all sharing in some degree the life of the city.

Types of Hinterlands

Before the rise of commutation service and the spread of urban utilities beyond the political bounds, the outlying territory

served mainly as a market for urban finished goods and services, and the city in turn utilized its raw products. Today this is not altogether true. As the city has expanded, appropriating space for residence, industry, or for commercial purposes, we find it necessary to distinguish between the three hinterlands: (1) an area of urban occupancy and use; (2) an area producing finished goods for the urban market, and (3) the hinterland playing its original rôle of producing raw materials for the city. The first two functions, since they are basically urban and are located so near as to be wholly identified with the city, we designate *suburban*. The suburb is the intimate periphery. Beyond and including the regions of primary extraction lies the hinterland proper. These are the sustenance areas without which no city can reckon.

For our present purposes we shall designate the hinterland as the region of supply, whether contiguous to or remote from the city. From the suburb the city receives no supplies, but it does draw services. To both hinterland and suburb it extends some of its functions and with both it shares its life. For practical purposes it would be difficult to draw a line around either the hinterland or the suburb, so overlapping is their interaction and interdependence, economic, social, and psychological. It is not enough to say that the suburb extends but a few miles out whereas the limits of the hinterland are the ends of the earth—New York draws food from every state in the Union and from every continent.

Feeding a population of eight or nine million with the varied tastes of the consumers in the Port of New York District is no small task. For most commodities, even perishable fruits and vegetables, New York knows no seasons. When supplies of nearby lettuce, tomatoes, and spinach cease, carloads are brought from Florida, California, and Texas in quantities fully as great. Astounding as it may seem, there is frequently a glut of lettuce on the New York market in mid-winter! It may be equally surprising to know that the largest single source of fruits and vegetables received in the metropolitan area is California, three thousand miles away. In 1924 some 33,000 carlots of California citrus

fruits, grapes, and produce were received, and 22,000 carlots of Florida citrus fruits and vegetables. These two states alone accounted for one-third of the total receipts, exclusive of bananas.

The refrigerator car and refrigerated ships have made possible sectionalized production and nation-wide or world-wide marketing of perishable produce. Dairy products for New York are drawn over a thousand miles, chiefly from the Midwest. Even fluid milk is hauled in largest volume from an area two hundred miles from the city.[3]

In our examination of the city proper we shall find that it is divided into a multitude of interdependent parts. Going beyond the urban limits we also find segregations and specialized occupations, but space is used more liberally. If we trace urban development, we find that many activities now carried on outside city boundaries were once included within its limits. In the suburbs of New York are located printing plants for publishers whose business addresses are in Manhattan. This is true of storage plants and warehouses for the large stores. A large company owning many horses and trucks once had its stables in Manhattan, but now they have moved across the Hudson River to Jersey City. The more space it requires, the more an activity feels impelled to migrate toward the outskirts. Thus at the outer edge of the city we find hundreds of activities once actually in the city, but now at least participating in a definite ecological relation to the whole organization and contributing to make the city a functioning unit, just as the yards, gardens, pens, outbuildings, roads, and fields constitute the farm a working unit. These outer elements fall into a number of related groups serving for (a) residence, (b) industry, (c) wholesale markets, (d) warehouses, (e) barns and stables, (f) railroad tracks and terminals, (g) pleasure and health centers, (h) institutional centers, (i) intensive farming: dairying, chicken raising, flower growing, (j) extensive farming, ranching, (k) mining, lumbering, fishing. The first eight of the above-named functions may be classed as suburban, although pleasure, health, and institutional centers belong to the hinterland as well as the suburb.

Residential Suburbs

For the most part governed by the same economic arrangement as the city proper, the suburb tends to be its bedroom area. Before beginning to assume metropolitan aspects in its own name, Brooklyn was called a city of "bedrooms and churches." Now, connected with Manhattan by two subways and four bridges, it has acquired some of the downtown business overflow and its skyscrapers tower above the church spires. A hundred other bedroom suburbs have developed to take its place.[4]

The rate at which urban population is moving countryward, as indicated by census reports, is significant of the fact that families find the heart of the city not congenial to children or that they find the suburb more congenial to rearing a family. The rate at which city-dwellers are moving countryward is no less significant for the political, social, and economic consequences because of the corresponding depopulation at the center of the city, particularly the cities of the million class. The rate of increase of the thirty-two largest cities for the two decades prior to 1920 averaged two per cent per annum. From 1910 to 1920 the annual increase for the thirty-two cities was two and one-half per cent. But the suburbs of these cities increased their population at the rate of three and one-half per cent per year. The river wards at the center of Chicago, which in the '80's and '90's were the most populous, lost from twenty per cent to thirty-three per cent of their inhabitants between 1910 and 1920.

Two types of residential suburbs tend to be exclusive: one is the village which has been overtaken by the spread of the city; the other is the real-estate project or "boom" town. Having traditions and community interests, the first may resent the encroachment of the city or it may invite the coming of certain city-types and discourage that of others. For instance, the old residents of Hicksville, Long Island, resented the efforts of commuters to change the name of the town. The issue came to a vote and the name remained Hicksville, but so rapid is the movement

to the suburbs that, had the vote been delayed two years, the town would doubtless have been rechristened. The city-promoted or project-suburb, although of many types, is usually established by real estate firms who appeal in their sales drives to special groups — clerical workers, school teachers, artistic and literary folk, certain trades and crafts, national groups. Each in its own way tends to be a social and economic grouping, and to that extent exclusive. In every instance, emigration from the city by people who work in it is by the middle or upper-middle class. The poor do not suburbanize except in small colonies near the wealthy suburbs in order to work there as household servants or toil in the industries outside the city limits. In the case of South Chicago, the establishment of an industry close to a laborers' colony has caused the latter to degenerate into a slum.

The Industrial Suburb

Industry moves to the suburb for space.[5] Whereas light industry, such as the needle trades, can survive best in the regions of highest rent near the hotels, heavy industry, an automobile plant or a smelter, flourishes in the suburb where it can spread out in shops, yards, and tracks. A major industry also needs space for various subsidiary industries which naturally grow up about it. Quoting at length from J. Russell Smith's description of the industrial suburbs of Boston, we obtain a picture not only of the manner in which allied industries gather into specialized centers, but also of the relation of these centers to Boston.

> Boston has three-quarters of a million people within her limits, and the Boston Basin, a low plain surrounding the city, is dotted with towns, some of which are an unbroken continuation of Boston. The Boston "metropolitan district" has nearly 2,000,000, about one-quarter of the population of all New England. Within a radius of fifty miles there are more people than in any other territory in the United States, except a similar radius around New York.
>
> Boston is the greatest wool market in the world, save London. It is the great market for hides and skins which ships bring from every

continent. The city itself has varied industries and it is surrounded by three circles of specialized industry. The inner circle is the leather circle. In it are included Peabody and other suburban cities that contain large tanneries. Next comes the circle of shoe towns — Haverhill on the north, which boasts of being the greatest center in the world for the manufacture of women's shoes and slippers, and Brockton on the south, with a similar renown for men's shoes. Lynn, in the midst of the shoe region, is the rival of both Brockton and Haverhill.

Walking the streets of Lynn one realizes what concentration an industry can have; the signs upon the places of business read — heels, welts, insoles, uppers, eyelets, thread, etc., etc. It is astonishing proof of the degree to which even a simple commodity like a shoe, so long made by one man, can be subdivided and become the work of scores of industries and thousands of people.

Textiles make a third industrial circle around Boston. It reaches from New Bedford, Fall River, and Providence around to Lowell and Lawrence.

Boston is oftener the center where business is transacted for factories located miles distant. Three hundred shoe factories have sales offices located within a few blocks of each other in Boston. Textile mills and machinery plants fifty, or even a hundred, miles away, buy materials and sell the finished product in the Boston office to which the material is never sent. Indeed, material for export is sometimes made in Lawrence or New Bedford, sold through the Boston office, and exported by way of the export houses and the shipping lines of New York.[6]

A similar distribution may be found at the periphery of any industrial city. For instance, outside Philadelphia are the Baldwin Locomotive works. Due to the crowding in Detroit, the automobile industry is shifting to Flint. In one direction from Chicago lies Argo, the starch city, on another side Cicero with the Western Electric Company plant, and to the south such centers as Whiting, the oil-refining town, and Pullman, the home of the sleeping cars. The industrial suburb tends to be a "company town" dominated by the owner of the central industry. Pullman once was such a one-man town.[7] Port Sunlight, an industrial garden city outside Liverpool, grew up around and was sponsored by the Lever Bros. Soap Company. Outside some cities in the West are saw-mills owned by companies that also operate

logging camps. The one tends to be a suburban function, the other an extractive hinterland function. The mines of the Utah Copper Company are at Bingham, 35 miles from Salt Lake City; its smelters are at Garfield — an industrial suburb — 15 miles from Salt Lake City, where the raw material from Bingham is converted into a commercial product. The life of the whole metropolitan area is colored by the presence of mines in the adjacent regions — Eureka, Park City, Bingham — just as irrigation, agriculture and stock raising — also hinterland activities — affect it in other respects.

Suburban Functional Areas

Wholesale markets, warehouses, barns and stables, railroad tracks and terminals — incidents of transportation and supply — are urban facilities which must be located outside of but conveniently near to the large city. The economical location for wholesale vegetable, fruit, and meat markets is of course near the railheads. In New York these find no place on Manhattan, or, if they are now located here, are likely to be crowded out in the future; in Chicago, due to the early invasion of the railroad, they are near the center of the city. Railroads, entering before the city took on its metropolitan aspect, preëmpted all the choice sites along the river front and lake shore until today one-third of the heart of the city is railroad and warehouse property. This has facilitated the building of the wholesale market which was moved out of the "Loop" to Randolph Street when the latter was widened for a distance of about two miles near the urban center. In New York City, where the railroads from the West have by geographical necessity terminated at Jersey City or Hoboken, goods have to be handled twice before reaching warehouses and storage in Brooklyn and Manhattan. In view of this double shift and the increasing cost of land, most of the warehouses will probably soon move to the New Jersey side.

The demands of the city upon the outskirts for space for health resorts and play are increasing, but how extensive they are

only a thorough survey could determine. Outside of New York this encroachment is so great that one upstate county, particularly favorable for outdoor activities, is complaining that too much of its territory is being taken over for camps. As, in the main, these are camps belonging to philanthropic organizations in New York City, no taxes can be collected on this space in the country. Besides camps there are many sanitaria and summer colonies (Woodstock, New York, The Dunes in Indiana) — escapes from the crowded city and invitations to exclusiveness or to rest. Those catering to illegitimate pastimes also flee to the suburbs. Outside any well-regulated city, the dance-and-dine roadhouses or "inns" mark every crossroads. The amusement parks, the Coney Islands of the great city, or the beaches and boardwalks are also near. Sometimes all these features and others combine at a hotel center to form a recreational city. Atlantic City is probably the outstanding instance in America, drawing pleasure seekers from the whole urban East.

The status of Atlantic City, like that of Los Angeles, Hot Springs, Miami, Vancouver, and other rest and recreational cities, is more than that of a suburb, since it plays a rôle not only in the lives of city-dwellers but in those of rural folks as well. This form of urban specialization, which characterizes towns and cities as much as areas in the city, invites our attention to the interaction of function between the city and its hinterland — the two being complementary parts of an ecological whole.

Production Zones and the Market

All things being equal, the nearer land is to the city the more valuable it is, and the more intensively it must be farmed to justify holding it for agricultural purposes. When its site value exceeds its productive value for the most lucrative crops, some site or structural use displaces agriculture. The inner circles of the agricultural hinterland are usually occupied by gardens, and poultry, dairy, or fruit farms. Beyond these, as the value of

land decreases, the zone of extensive farming begins, and still farther on lie the pastoral regions.

In regard to food supply, the relation of the city to its hinterland concerns (a) its own consumptive wants, and (b) the rôle it plays as distribution center for the surplus.[8] Minneapolis and St. Paul, the twin flour cities, although they may consume the maximum per capita amount of wheat products, cannot absorb more than a small fraction of the entire wheat crop of the surrounding region. But with reference to the crop, they serve as markets and milling centers. Wheat is stored there and shipped to all the world or is refined into flour for the world markets. Some of the manufactured wheat products are sold back to the farmers who raised the wheat. Thus the plains to the north, west, and south are called the wheat belt, and Minneapolis and St. Paul are known to the world as flour cities. But these same wheat plains become identified with the hinterland of Chicago or New York if the raw wheat is shipped there for milling or consumption, or as these cities ship manufactured goods to the wheat-producing states for consumption.

Minneapolis and St. Paul are playing a highly specialized part in world economy. They are to the flour and wheat market what Los Angeles is to the moving picture market, or Akron, Ohio, to the rubber market, or New Orleans to the cotton market. This specialization of cities in terms of the major products of their hinterlands is partly caused by the transportation system which enables them to market their specialties as readily as they can draw upon the specialties of all other markets. Being able to draw upon the world for other necessities leaves them free to specialize in available raw goods but also exaggerates their dependence upon the transportation system. This is the essence and the strength of our present competitive coöperative metropolitan economy.[9]

The immediate hinterland and its immediate market become bread-and-butter allies, each organizing its life with special reference to the other, thriving or failing together. The city of

Petersburg, Virginia, in the peanut belt, at one time had the reputation of being the greatest peanut market of the world. A few years ago, because of poor soil and for other reasons, the farmers wanted to give up growing peanuts. Thereupon the Chamber of Commerce started a " boosting " campaign, introducing new varieties of peanuts, conducting experiments in fertilization, and employing a specialist to go about the country to advise and encourage the farmers in peanut growing. To this same end an organized movement was initiated to secure immigrants to settle and raise peanuts on abandoned farm land. Of course an economic motive was involved: in Petersburg a great deal of money was invested in equipment for cleaning, roasting, and packing peanuts for the markets, and a great many people were dependent upon the peanut crop.

Resources of a City

Frequently a city is faced with the prospect of the exhaustion of its chief natural resources. What, for instance, would happen to Pittsburgh if the immediate coal supply were exhausted, as certain authorities believe will happen in the near future? Southern Michigan has met the problems created by the exhaustion of the local supply of timber, upon which the carriage-making and furniture industry had been built, in three ways: (1) by changing from carriage to automobile manufacture, (2) by making metal furniture, and (3) by importing timber. To have its supply of raw materials cut off is no greater calamity to a city than to lose the market for its products. When demand for a commodity ceases, the producer must either find some new marketable commodity which can be made from the same raw material or close his factory. The brewing business has made a satisfactory transition. When prohibition came, some of the breweries started to manufacture soft drinks; others to make other permissible products. During the War a large industry was established in a southern town to make gun-cotton.

With the end of the War, the plant closed, wiping out a city of 10,000 or more people. Since then a method for making artificial silk by a process not unlike that used for gun-cotton has been discovered, and the city has revived, giving work to the surplus population from the farms, finding a use for cotton, and furnishing a market for local garden-grown foodstuffs. The original urban-hinterland relationship was renewed.

The hinterland is sometimes similarly dominated by the city. The increase of population in Detroit to over a million (113% from 1910 to 1920) affected the economic arrangement of the whole Lower Peninsula of Michigan. An extended labor market was created and many young men from the farms and small towns who once went to Grand Rapids or Chicago now go to Detroit. The new demand for produce gave an impetus to truck farming, poultry raising, and dairying. The presence of a metropolis of a million, with skyscrapers, factories, and a night life vitalized large areas of Michigan which had previously dwelt in self-contained isolation.

Rural Depletion

In this chapter it has been possible only to indicate what is meant by the hinterland in terms of exchange.[10] Not a subject on which there is a great deal of sociological information, it offers a number of openings for possibly fruitful investigation. One problem with reference to the mobility of population relates to the extent to which the movements of people and of goods coincide, and of what use would be a knowledge of such movements in promoting intelligent control of migrations. Another topic of which much has been written is the charge that the city attracts the best blood from the country, that the city is the great consumer and sterilizer. Typical of this age-old point of view is the following excerpt from *The Sifting Power of Great Cities:*

> Civilization is the result of human activity and intelligence, and cities are another result of the same cause. But let there be no misunderstanding. As soon as the cities are established, they become

secondary causes whereby civilization is urged forward with still greater rapidity. They are like tools. In fact, that is just what they are — the greatest tools of civilization. With them in his hand man can accomplish all sorts of things that would otherwise be impossible. But the tool is merely the means, not the cause, of the accomplishment.

If cities are such important tools, it is worth while to understand how they are formed and sharpened, and how they wear out. In a nutshell the general process, as almost everyone knows, is this: Cities attract three main types of people; first, the bright, energetic type which possesses special talents; second, a multitude of the duller sort of laborers — the kind who feed automatic machines; and, third, the vicious and criminal elements. Fortunately the attraction of bright minds appears to outweigh that of the dull. Unfortunately, however, the cities lower the birth-rate and raise the death-rate. This might be highly advantageous if the changes in both rates affected the intelligent people only a little and the unintelligent and vicious a great deal. But the fine types are the ones whose birth-rate is especially lowered, while their death-rate is probably raised almost as much as that of the lower classes. And why not? Do they not keep late hours, live indoors, get little sun and fresh air, and spend a great deal of nervous energy on obviously useless things as well as on lowering the death-rate of the most worthless people around them? The net result is that the better classes in the cities tend to die out. The poorer classes either continue to increase, or more probably die out at a slower rate than do those of the greater social value. Even in our own day cities are self-destructive, and in the past they have doubtless been far more so."[11]

The above quotation is given at length because it reflects a view that has long been popular among social scientists of a certain type. So general is the feeling that cities are a menace to human society that even Henry Ford, who is doing as much as anyone to make a city what it is, feels that " the modern city is an anomaly, its tremendous popularity is upsetting the balance of life," and disturbing the foundations of American culture.[12] These are only aspects of equally general assumptions about superior and inferior people. The superior people or the best classes, so considered, are those who rise socially, get educated, leave a lower for a higher level, as in migrating from the farm. They do this, it is assumed, because in the best classes there is something in-

herently and intrinsically good, just as in other classes there is something inherently and intrinsically bad. But once they arrive at the top, according to studies of business and professional rosters of large cities, the "best people" do not hold their own. As they pass out, their places are being filled either by superior people recruited from the country or by representatives of the "lower and undesirable classes" who take advantage of the openings and crowd in.

People holding the point of view just described can only see ultimate degradation in our society if things continue as at present. The city is consuming the best blood of its own increase and attracting to itself the best stocks of the surrounding country, thus making for its own decay and for rural depletion. The more we study these fears from the ethnological point of view, the more convinced we are that they are groundless and in a class with the so-called "Nordic Myth."[18] Our chief trouble is that we have not studied the inter-relationships between the city and its hinterland sufficiently, certainly not in the light of recent findings in biology and psychology.

As to rural-urban migrations, such studies as have been made, while they show that the city is a mecca for the detached rurals, it does not attract what by the popular standards are called "best." Zimmerman (*Am. Jour. Soc.*, July, 1927) finds that the city is more likely to get the children of the poor and unsuccessful than of the successful farmer, and that thirty per cent of these poor farm children go to cities of over ten thousand. But they do not rise as rapidly in the city as the children of successful farmers.

Urban-Rural Investigation

We need to know more about the cultural relationships between city and hinterland. Likenesses prevail as we go from city to city, but differences exist. Standardization has given Portland, Maine, a thousand things that could also be found in Portland, Oregon, yet each is a different city, has a different physical

setting, organizes itself into different production groups, that is, commodity groups. And if we went to Los Angeles we should find other combinations. Winnipeg, New Orleans, Mexico City, would each be distinct. These divergences between cities seem to relate to commodities produced and marketed, and tend to identify each city with its hinterland. New Orleans at one point on the Mississippi River and Minneapolis at another suggest two dissimilar pictures. Neither can be dissociated from the hinterland which gives it identity. The city and its hinterland reciprocate in experience and social heritage. Psychologically each city and its hinterland tend to be complementary, and although they think and move at varying rates they each draw locally from a common physical and social environment. Therefore, in the experience-content of each there is much in common. Sociological and psychological investigation of the relations between city and hinterland is necessary if we want to understand the meaning of human relations between cities and their hinterlands.

In sociological terms the hinterland is a dispersion of villages and towns, each of which is related in some way to the metropolitan life of the city. Each village or town exists and develops with reference to the service it renders its own immediate hinterland; each tends to be a service station in its own area, and each village or town is also the market for certain commodities in the region.

A study of 140 agricultural villages made by the Institute for Social and Religious Research confirms the observation of previous studies, namely: that the better the roads and transportation at his disposal the more likely the farmer is to go to the larger place to do his shopping. In other words, the more difficult it is for him to reach the town the more trading he will do in the village; and if he has ready access to the city he will trade there in preference to either the town or village.

It is surprising to find to what extent a near-by city limits the size of the area of a village community [meaning the trade area around the village. *Author's note*]. In the Middle Atlantic States the average area

of rural communities within 15 miles of a city with a population of 25,000 or more was 9.9 square miles, as against an average area of 47.2 square miles for all the communities of this region. Every region investigated shows similar contrasts; and it is noteworthy that villages offer fewer services when near cities, though some, accepting the situation, exercise greater selectivity in their services and seek to perform them exceptionally well . . .

The village has to struggle to hold its influence in the area when better roads or improved trolley and bus service enable the farmer to reach still larger centers in approximately the same time it formerly took him to reach the village. Particularly is this true when the village has fallen behind the farmer's rising standard of living. . . .[14]

Studies of rural life show also that the farmer, in most of his normal associations, is a person of a community.[15] For many of his social contacts, for elemental education, church attendance, for the ordinary necessities of life, as well as for much of his marketing, he goes to the nearest village. For the less standardized goods and for some of his marketing, he goes on to the larger town, whose newspaper he reads. Here he buys his good clothes, does his banking, and perhaps sends his children for dances and high school. Beyond the village and the town is the city from which he obtains a few commodities directly, and indirectly most of what he uses. On the other hand, much of the raw material he sells finds its way to the city for consumption or for the larger market. Through these fundamental exchange relations, the city becomes for the farmer the source of his culture. It is the ultimate banking center, the dictator of prices, the dispenser of news, the broadcasting station, the publishing center, the home of the qualified lawyer and the medical specialist, the seat of the great universities, the fashion center; in short, the source of much of the good and evil that comes to break the monotony of his life.

As they invade his realm, breaking up his cultural equilibrium, the cultural wares of the city are often disturbing to the life of the country man. Groves points out that the influence of the city upon the country is disproportionate to the difference in numbers:

> The greater meaning of this urbanizing of modern life appears when we notice the wide-spread dominance of the urban culture. Urban ideals, standards of life, indeed all the psychic products of urban association, are passing out into the rural sections and influencing more and more the thinking, habits and standards of rural people. This does not mean necessarily a deterioration in the social life of rural people, but it does denote a relative decrease of distinctively rural culture and its replacement by influences originated in the urban setting. . . .
>
> . . . Our thinking, our habits, our recreation, our standards, all our social conduct, in short, that affects family life is largely city-made, even though a large proportion of the people who are dominated by these ideals still live in the country.[16]

Just as the country dweller goes to one town to buy his overalls and to another to buy dress clothes, it is obvious that a community may be in the cultural peripheries of several cities for various cultural influences. New York is the great market, the money, news, and publishing center; Atlantic City is the "World's Playground"; Paris sets the mode for women's dress; London, for men's clothes; Chicago is the center of mail-order houses, sending catalogs in box-car lots to every rural section in the nation. In addition, hundreds of standardized urban services are distributed by all cities alike.

Rural sociologists have investigated rather thoroughly the cultural relations between the farmer and his village or town. A great deal of research needs to be done before urban sociologists have a comparable knowledge of the relation between the city and its hinterland; of commodity and cultural exchange relationships. Some beginnings have been made toward a comprehensive country and city coördination in the United States,[17] and many forces are at work breaking down the barriers between these two diverse and often contending segments of modern society. However, even under the most favorable relationships there will be distinctions due to differences of stimulation, differences of association, and differences of tradition.

In seeking control of urban life social scientists are trying to visualize that life in terms of spatial patterns. They are trying

to find the natural areas and in the larger cities such as New York, Chicago, St. Louis, movements are under way to make administration districts and natural areas coincide. This should not only facilitate enumerations and other forms of fact-finding, but such facts would be more useful to the agencies at work coördinating and administering to urban society.

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The hinterland is often distinguished from its center on the basis of service relations. Thus it is said that the city and the hinterland live by taking in each other's washing. Tabulate some of these interchanges of service for a given center and its outlying areas.

2. Discuss in terms of your own observations the following statements:

(a) The shorter the work-day and the higher the pay, the farther the worker will live from his place of employment.

(b) As transportation facilities improve, the workers enjoying the shorter day and the larger pay tend to move farther away from their place of employment.

3. Is the hinterland divided into functional or occupational areas in the same manner as is the city? If so, is there a definite relationship between a specific functional area in the hinterland and a similar area in the corresponding city? If the hinterland is not thus divided, explain why.

4. Considered functionally, the hinterland is devoted to residence, industry, wholesale markets, warehouses, barns and stables, railroad tracks and terminals, pleasure and health resorts, institutional centers, intensive farming, extensive farming, ranching, mining, lumbering, hunting and fishing, etc. Trace several of these hinterland functions in terms of special urban groups.

5. Study a region where the central city has grown rapidly and then declined. Discuss principally the effect which this rise and decline has had upon the hinterland involved.

6. Analyze the increase in population of a given city and then compare the increases or decreases in population in the corresponding hinterland.

7. Study the location of industries with respect to their nearest urban center and the hinterland. Near Chicago, for example, are oil

refineries located at Whiting, Indiana; steel mills at Gary, Indiana, and South Chicago; electrical equipment works at Cicero; and car factories at Pullman. Analyze these industrial communities in terms of the relation to the development of Chicago and to the surrounding territory. (For this project, an area near your place of study where first-hand observations may be made is suggested.)

8. The rate of increase for a given city is often calculated on the basis of its past growth. Is this a sound method?

9. In predicting the future growth of a city, how far should one take into consideration the existing and potential supply of raw materials in the surrounding areas?

10. Study of metropolitan economy indicates that cities usually have less than thirty days' supply of food on hand at any given time. What possible events might disrupt this economy?

11. Compare the classification of twelve shopping districts given by J. Walter Thompson in *Population and Its Distribution* (New York, 1926) with the natural districts described by J. Russell Smith in his *North America* (New York, 1925).

12. Instance cities which have been markedly affected by changes in the hinterland, and also give instances where changes in the city have acutely influenced the hinterland.

13. In *American Villagers*, by C. Luther Fry (New York, 1926), read Chapter III, entitled "Are Village Populations Declining?" If, as this study indicates, village populations are on the increase, what relation does this growth bear to the neighboring urban centers? How does this affect the pattern of the rural territory? What relation is there between village growth and chain stores; mail order merchandizing? Between improved transportation and communication?

14. From the point of view of cultural, educational, and esthetic values, what is the most important contribution of the city to its hinterland? How far do these influences extend? Select one item, such as the urban newspaper, and trace its area of distribution and influence.

15. In his recent *Culture and Social Progress*, J. K. Folsom names six classes of waste: waste of natural resources, production wastes, waste in distribution, irregular employment, waste of the household, and waste of consumption. List types of each.

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. Fourteenth U. S. Census, Vol. I:62.
2. "The Future New York," Joseph P. Day, *New York Herald-Tribune*, Dec. 4, 1927.
3. See *Produce Terminal Requirements in the New York Area*, by the Research Staff, Port of New York Authority, 1925, p. 5. Also see a suggestive study of the feeding of New York made by C. E. Artman, *Food Costs and City Consumers*, 1926.
4. See *The Suburban Trend*, by H. Paul Douglass (New York, 1925). His *St. Louis Church Survey*, 1924, shows how churches follow their congregations from the center to the outskirts of the city. See also "Bedroom Towns," by Nels Anderson, in the *Survey* for October 15, 1927.
5. C. R. Taylor, in his *Satellite Cities* (New York, 1915) has written especially about the industrial suburb. He holds (see p. 2) that "the impulse toward cheap land, low taxes and elbow room throws them out from the larger centers of population. These are the centrifugal forces. The centripetal forces are equally powerful and bind them as satellites beyond the outer rings of the mother city."
6. J. Russell Smith, *North America*, p. 81 (New York, 1925).
7. Richard T. Ely, "Pullman: A Social Study," In *Harpers' Monthly*, 70:453–465, 1884.
8. See George G. Chisholm, "The Geographical Relation of the Market to the Seats of Industry," *Scott. Geographical Magazine*, April, 1910. Also C. J. Galpin, *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community*, University of Wisconsin Bulletin 34, 1915.
9. The publications of the Regional Plan of New York and its Environs. The monograph on *Wholesale Markets* is pertinent here.
10. J. Russell Smith's *North America* treats geography from the point of view of the relation of the city to its hinterland. See also Mark Jefferson, "Some Considerations of the Geographical Provinces of the United States," *Ann. Association American Geog.*, Vol. 7 (1917), 3–15; and Patrick Geddes, "Cities and the Soils They Grow From," *Survey Graphic*, April, 1925.
11. "The Sifting Power of Great Cities," Ellsworth Huntington, *Scribners*, 1926, p. 317. Also characteristic of this point of view is an article by E. A. Ross, "Folk Depletion as a Cause of Rural Decline," *Pub. Amer. Stat. Soc.* 11 (1917), 21–30.
12. An exhaustive summary of the subject is found in *Urbanization*,

J. G. Thompson, New York, 1927. See Ch. I on "The Rural Bias" and Ch. II on "The Urban Bent."

13. For an analysis of rural-urban migrations see *Social Mobility*, Pitirim Sorokin, New York, 1927, Ch. XVII, "Vertical Mobility within Western Societies." For general bibliography on the subject see *The City*, R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, Chicago, 1925; Ch. X, "A Bibliography of the Urban Community," compiled by Lewis Wirth has special sections on the suburb, the hinterland, and the growth of the city.
14. See *American Agricultural Villages*, pp. 56–57, by Edmund de S. Brunner, Gwendolyn S. Hughes, and Majorie Patten (New York, 1927). Also for village trade areas, see *Agricultural Research Bulletins*, by J. H. Kolb and others, University of Wisconsin.
15. *Social Participation in a Rural New England Town*, J. L. Hypes, Columbia Univ. Pub. New York, 1927.
16. *Social Problems and Education*, by E. R. Groves (New York, 1925), see p. 132. See also E. E. Miller, *Town and Country* (Chapel Hill, 1928).
17. *A Nation Plan*, a basis for Coördinated Physical Development of the United States of America, with a suggestion for a World Plan, by Cyrus Kehr, Oxford Press, (New York, 1926).

IV

OCCUPATIONAL AREAS

Natural Divisions of the City

Regarded as an aggregate of human beings, with a common environment, who live in a mutual relationship, the city may be called an ecological unit. Its ecological unity grows out of its functional and spatial relations with the larger community of which it is a part. Within its own borders the city divides into other structural units functionally and spatially related. Wirth says:

> Every city tends to take on a structural and functional pattern determined by the ecological factors that are operative. The internal ecological organization of the city permits of more intensive study and accurate analysis than the ecology of the city from the external standpoint.

The inner divisions or natural areas of the city fall into two classes which seem to contradict each other: (1) the functional area created by movement and resulting in specialized participation; and (2) the non-functional area created by the lack of movement and resulting in isolation. Both are functioning areas, though they differ enough in degree to be different in kind, one active and the other passive. The first is characterized by a center where all activities focus, being concentrated at a point of high stimulation and diminishing in intensity toward the periphery of the area. The non-functional area is characterized by a boundary which is generally a barrier and which spreads the life of the area uniformly over its whole extent. The more isolated the area is, the less likely are there to be points of intense activity.

In the large city the functional areas predominate, the extreme being the downtown business districts. The non-functional area is unusual in the great city, though there are some, such as occasional residential quarters hedged in by the railroad tracks. Chinatown in the American cities approaches such an isolation, although, being unique and tempting to slummers, it tends to become a specialized business district cut off socially from the rest of the city. The distinction between the two kinds of areas may be stated thus: the functional area exists *around a point* or central region. In an organism it is the center of polarity, being the dominant region because it is most stimulated. The corresponding center in a city is the point of intersection of traffic; the more people passing, the more dominant it is. The non-functional area is not characterized by activity so much as by the lack of it, so that the center is not significant. Its location is defined *within bounds,* as " the other side of the track," or " between the river and the hill."

The Area as Friction Center

Ecological areas tend to be problem centers, the reasons being traceable to their specialized nature, the uneven distribution of the population, and the irregular manner in which space is occupied and used. Both structural and functional in character, these points of differentiation must now be examined.

Analysis of the various protests against and criticisms of modern cities invariably shows that some particular feature, not the city as a whole, is disapproved of. Thus Dr. J. A. Harris complains:

> More than 200,000 crowd into the theatre district [New York City] each night and it is impossible to handle them and have everybody satisfied. They all want to arrive at 8:15 and be first to leave. I would permit but one theatre in a certain locality and decentralize the theatre.[1]

Other critics in equally drastic terms center their attacks upon the skyscraper which makes for over-centralization and induces

"structural indigestion." Concentration of 200,000 people nightly in the theatre district, or 50,000 daily on two blocks of the garment-trade center is decried as abnormal. The validity of these protests must be questioned from a scientific point of view. Is it not likely that the theatre district of a large city has evolved through adjustment to a particular kind of want? Theatrical institutions cluster together for the business as well as professional advantages of proximity. Cabarets, restaurants, and all that goes to make up the urban night life, gravitate to those areas readily accessible to the places of public amusement:

> Almost every big city has its great moving-picture houses: but in Chicago they have developed into vast communal institutions, like the Roman baths. When one of them is erected a neighborhood is transformed: hotels and bazaars begin to cluster around it, and it becomes, in the functional sense, a civic center.[2]

Likewise, for economic reasons, all of these institutions need to be adjacent to the hotel center; and hotels in their turn are located with respect to central business areas and the termini of transportation.

The Area as Functional Unit

The tendency of special interests to occupy particular areas within a city probably began with the location of public markets. Generally markets are found at similar points with reference to other occupational areas of the city. Once the market area becomes established, its further increase is due to accretions of merchants and dealers who find it advantageous to congregate near each other. In a discussion of the shops of London during the Middle Ages, A. Abram writes:

> Men of the same trade congregated together in the same street, and some of the streets of London and other towns still owe their names to the occupations of their former inhabitants. The makers of rosaries, which were called Paternosters, lived in Paternoster Row, and Lombard Street was the abode of the Lombard brokers.[3]

London, in fact, was full of specialized markets; pepperers and grocers in one area, poultry dealers in another, "cheese, bread, fruit, hides, onions, garlic" in another, grain elsewhere. The butchers gathered at Saint Nicholas Flesh Shambles. At Saint Mary Woolchurch the cloth merchants and wool merchants congregated. Crossing to Paris we find the same segregation of interests and functions; returning to New York City, the segregations are even more evident. Within a few blocks of each other are centers for silk, lace, stockings, hats, gloves, furs, men's clothing, women's clothing, children's clothing. What can be more pronounced than the financial centers — "Wall Street" in New York, La Salle Street in Chicago, and the Bourse or the Exchange in other great cities. Instead of taking over sections of streets, silversmiths, lawyers, insurance men, hair dressers, and others occupy whole buildings, skyscrapers architecturally adapted to their special uses. We find in most cities skyscrapers especially designed for the medical profession, with offices equipped with water for hydrotherapy, with special electric fixtures, and special individual toilet facilities. There are places to install X-ray equipment. The rooms are arranged in suites for the proper groupings of specialists with the necessary lounge and waiting room space. Such a coming together of experts under a single roof is not only a convenience but an economy.

The more we recognize the city as an agglomeration of specialized and interdependent but functioning parts, the less chaotic it seems. The arrangement and order that become obvious with acquaintance do not evidence the managing or directing hand of man. In spite of the interest in city planning, and however many plans may be devised for the future, all of our cities of half a million or more have grown without forethought. Yet if we study the sections and their functioning in different cities, we note a definite and consistent arrangement. Let some new activity develop and it will localize most advantageously with reference to the central market. The radio trade is a good example, as the following item from the *New York Times* shows:

It was inevitable that a "radio town" should evolve in New York. It has done so almost to the extinction of other business in the quarter where it has developed. Just as the fur trade has possession of Eighth Avenue in the Thirties, just as Madison and Lexington Avenues have gone antique in the Fifties and lower Fourth Avenue has become the home of second-hand books, so that section of the city where Cortlandt and Greenwich Streets intersect has been taken over by radio shops.

One may stand at the corner and count no less than twenty-five radio shop signs, and around the corner, unseen from that point, are others still. There are great glaring signs and small modest signs — conservatively green or trimly black and white — but most of them are fiery red, and many use the lightning emblem. Red is the color for radio town for window placards, for signboards, even for the façades of the shops.

A few of the shops, their windows showing cabinets lacquered, gilded, and carved, are worthy of a quieter, less flashing neighborhood. Most of the others blare noisily at the passer-by through loudspeakers. Some are mere open sidewalk booths.

Something is always going on in radio town. Here an esthetic figure boasting side-burns and silk hat, points with a cane and invites all to inspect his employer's shop: and there the mounting voice of the auctioneer lures fans to the bargain cellar. At any time of the day window-shopping proceeds, and no store lacks customers. How much selling is done is a question, but there is plenty of looking and talking.

It has taken five years for radio town thoroughly to establish itself. For some time shops opened and closed over night, but now, it is said, radio has come to the neighborhood to stay, and other flourishing businesses have been crowded off the streets. Of the pre-radio era, only one or two long-established pet shops, a few provision or hardware stores, and the like, remain, and some of the hardware stores have added radio sets and parts to their stocks.

This particular development in this particular section was not hit-or-miss. A tendency toward emphasis on sets may be noticed, but most of the shops still trade in parts chiefly and keep their sets upstairs; in the early days they dealt in parts almost exclusively. Their best customer was the fan who built his own. This fan, more often than otherwise, according to one dealer, was an office boy; therefore radio town sprang up where the office boy population was the densest. The fact that the Hudson Tubes were nearby was another consideration, since, next to the office boy, the commuter is possibly the best customer for radio parts.[4]

One could go a block in any direction from the intersection of the two streets which form radio town and find other businesses predominating, and in the length and breadth of the city literally thousands of occupational units, each located advantageously for the purpose it serves. Otherwise the business would fail and something more suited would take its place.

Urban areas group readily into five general classes: residential, commercial, industrial, recreational, and institutional, each being an aggregation of sub-classes. For instance, as many residential areas exist as there are types of people to occupy them. We name this category first because it seems to be the most general use of space whether taken up by hotels at the center of the city, the palatial apartments on the boulevards, the tenements in the slums, or by the private homes in the suburbs. But the city begins at the center. Surrounding it, a series of occupational zones, which may be divided into sections and parts of sections including every manner of area, radiate toward the periphery. Let us begin at the heart of the city, the headquarters area where commerce reigns.

"Downtown" Areas

The headquarters in Chicago is the "Loop," that bit of business section where all the car-lines meet, the ganglion of transportation, corresponding to both uptown and downtown New York, or the "Golden Triangle" in Pittsburgh. In many cases, one-fourth to one-third of the city population visits it in a single day: professional people, businessmen, clerical workers, scrub women. The leading department stores and specialty shops entice shoppers. The best restaurants and amusement resorts attract the diners and those who seek entertainment. In this area are the banking and hotel centers. Railroad stations usually build as near as possible, and the crowding in and out attracts others. Professor Adshead of the University of London writes of the inner section of London, known as the "City," much as he might describe the center of an American city:

Central London is today no place for residence of the masses, nor is it a place for independent business and factories, but the kind of businesses that still flourish in Central London, and which will in the future monopolize or at any rate preponderate here are hotels of all kinds, residential flats, big stores, head offices of important trading companies, public buildings of Imperial and national importance, restaurants and shops for specialized wares. The demand for such buildings is ahead of the supply, and though re-building is continuous, nevertheless the change is not so rapid as it might be.[5]

Henry Bonnet, in an article on "The Map of the Poor in Paris," paints a similar picture of the heart of the French capital, conducting the reader through the entire city and describing the occupants of each of the twenty *arrondissements*, beginning with the two at the center:

We find ourselves in the midst of the business section, surrounded by stores, banks, exclusive and fashionable shops, hotels, restaurants, and business offices. This is the district *par excellence* which caters to the tourist. Here, besides the numerous hotels, restaurants, and shops, are the public gardens, the museums and places of amusement. . . . There are very few children; one for every eleven inhabitants, whereas the ordinary proportion is one for every eight. But this is not a residential section. All those who are not held here by their work live in outlying districts. This is the mecca of the tourist.[6]

Paris, like London and every cosmopolitan city, has at its center a large hotel population. The transient who comes for business or pleasure is often the life of the city. It has always been so, and we have no better illustration than in New York City with a transient hotel capacity of nearly 100,000 rooms, mostly in the midtown section. Here is "Broadway," Times Square, and the Grand Central Station. But central Manhattan is more than a visitor's paradise for business and pleasure. It is becoming a great winter resort, a place where people come to rest, often to lose themselves temporarily from the watchful surveillance of the small town. Thus, it is a great leisure time area. It is said that the transients in New York constitute a barometer of the success or failure of

the plays on Broadway. They form such a large part of the theatre-going population that they can turn the tide of favor as they will.

Many of the activities found in the Forty-second Street district, just described, were formerly part of what is called "downtown" New York. Nothing remains downtown but the money market and attendant activities, such as insurance companies, brokers, and importers. Financially, this is the control center for the whole country, but in comparison with the mid-town section it is drab and matter-of-fact; and after business hours, when the other section sparkles with life, the narrow canyon-like streets of the Wall Street district are all but deserted. Yet, in the earlier days of the city nearly every activity lining Broadway — the small shops at Fourteenth Street, the department stores at Thirty-fourth Street, the office buildings at Times Square, the theatres and hotels beyond — were all centered here.

"Downtown" Functions

The headquarters area in the city serves the same function as does the office in the industrial plant: all the lines of control for all the other parts of the establishment and for its outside activities intersect there, forming a strategic center of the web which unifies the rest of the city and binds the city to its hinterland. We need only cross the Hudson River from New York to Jersey City to see how, without a center, all attempts to build a metropolis have failed for at least a century. Manhattan is too near and there is no outside trading area. Jersey City has stores but no great shopping center, movies but no amusement center, no theatre; lodging houses for homeless men are found, but there is no hotel center — people go to Times Square; there are schools but no intellectual center like Cooper Union; no forums, no literati — Jersey City goes to Greenwich Village for such expression; newspapers are published but no metropolitan dailies, no *Graphic* or *News*, no *World* or *Times;* there are offices but no office center, no professional or banking centers. Yet Jersey City grimly hopes

that it can do what any other city of three hundred thousand has done.

As the city grows larger, the likelihood of its being inhabited at the center, except by the hotel population already referred to, decreases. Other population tends to be the very poor, wedged in wherever the space is not used for non-residence purposes. The law of urban congestion seems to be that first of all, plant and animal life is excluded. With increased congestion, children are eliminated, then women, and finally men. Men remain longest because they can be packed in larger numbers with a minimum of comfort. This seems to be well illustrated in a survey which was made in 1914 of Calcutta, India. The area within the city was 20,547 acres and contained 896,067 people. In view of the low habitations (mostly one- or two-storied), this is an extreme density. Many of these people are lone men who have come in from the hinterland for employment and are so crowded at the center that the proportion of males to females is almost two and one-half to one, or 607,674 males to 289,394 females. The center of the city is almost solidly native in population, the foreigners living in the less congested suburbs.[7]

First Zone of Occupation

Outside the city's center, the first zone of occupation is devoted in the main to three uses: residential, industrial, and commercial. Residence in this zone is largely what has sometimes been called an interstitial occupation of territory[8] — occurring in an area where human habitation is incidental and passing. Immediately adjacent to this first zone of occupation are generally the streets of the homeless, principally men, the transient lodgers who, requiring the minimum of space, can be herded together in great numbers.[9] Other habitations are "cubicle" hotels, rooming houses of improvised light-housekeeping rooms for childless couples.[10] Many of these sections are reclaimed residence districts where once lived the families of the middle class and

well-to-do who, with the growth of the city, migrated to its outer edges.

The secondary nature of industry in the first zone — requiring many hands and a minimum of space — explains the presence of the clothing and fur, cigar-making, light metal products, printing, and leather goods industries. Clustering near their own kind or kindred industries upon which they depend, these activities are functions in the general productive processes of the city, and their strength lies in the direction of well-defined specialization and a responsive interdependence with allied specialties. The significance of this is well illustrated in the women's clothing trade of New York. Here in the face of keen competition, a simple occupation, dressmaking, has been broken into a multitude of specialties, all different, but all contributing to a definite and orderly correlated activity — supplying the market with dresses.[11] Once housed in the attics of the East Side, the " fashion center " moved to the secondary lofts of lower Fifth Avenue and from there to a group of modern manufacturing loft buildings on Seventh Avenue, just below the hotel area of Times Square; here it is accessible to the railway terminals.

The dress business fluctuates. The market is unstable; styles change constantly, making large investments risky. Consequently most of the firms are small, occupying one or two loft floors. The personal element in the industry is very large and even more important than capital investment. In order to achieve the maximum of efficiency, firms must specialize in types of dresses, each concentrating on one product only: high- or low-priced dresses, silk, wool, or cloth, dresses for stout women, for tall or little women, or for misses. Wedged in between these firms are such incidental specialties as cloth shrinking, dyeing, ornament making, makers of buttons and button-holes, pleaters, wholesalers of wool, silk, cloth, ribbons, lace. These and scores of others constitute the fashion center, supplemented by such information-dispensing specialties as a daily trade paper, weekly and monthly trade papers and magazines, catalogs of buyers.

Hotels in the section cater to the visiting buyers, and in the restaurants dresses are the only topic discussed by the men. At the lunch hour workers, buyers, salesmen, and manufacturers swarm into the streets. Here too dresses dominate the conversation.

Chiefly tied up in the skills and crafts of the people identified with it, specialization in the garment industry is very responsive to the market. Besides working side by side in their specialties, these workers associate outside the industry; often they live on the same block or in the same suburb. While facilitating a concentration in their specialties, this also tends to narrow their experience and limit their perspective.

In all cities, the inner industrial zone is not detached from the railroad as it is in New York. In Chicago it is also the zone of railroad terminals and warehouses; in port cities, the zone of docks and landings, or junctions of land and water transportation. Even though the transportation facilities are available, however, no extensive or primary industries are likely to exist in this zone unless land values, and hence rents, are low.[12]

The Outer Zones

The second zone from the center of the city is occupied chiefly by family residences of the very poor, those who have to live near their work.[13] This is the zone of tenements, if the city has any. In river cities and ports it is often the zone of houseboats. In exceptional cases boulevards or parks, built up with apartments or apartment hotels commanding high rents, may be situated here. The less attractive back streets become the regions of poor housing, congestion, of relatively low rents, and of no future promise for residence. The third zone — middle-class habitations — is also residential, but with apartments instead of tenements; rents are somewhat higher and families a little smaller.

The differences between the second and third zones of occupation include all those which make the distinction between tenements and apartments, chief of which is economic. Apartments

are usually more up-to-date buildings, having the amount of light and ventilation required by the recent building codes,[14] and equipped with modern conveniences — running hot and cold water, heat, light, gas, and janitor service. In the zone of tenements, scattered industries will also be found, unrelated and not compactly knit together as in the first zone. Sweated industries are also likely to be here. Sometimes industries will locate branch factories in the tenement regions. Factories which employ many women, particularly part-time women workers, find it advantageous to locate in such an area where they can find an abundant labor supply. From the apartment house belts, if the city is protected by a zoning law, most industries are excluded, and on some streets not even stores or garages are permitted.

Still further from the heart of the city lies the zone of single residences. Some of these areas are set apart by zoning ordinances, and not only are factories and business enterprises excluded, but apartment houses as well. Other areas of this fourth zone are occupied partly by apartment houses and frequently by two-family dwellings. The congestion which is found nearer the center does not usually exist here. Near the periphery of the city is the fifth zone which in most instances forms the suburban ring — generally a belt of villages, small industrial towns, and real-estate extensions. In nearly every case the inhabitants are commuters who spend there only part of their time and who lead a life largely in terms of the city. As the basic industries which require considerable space frequently find it convenient and profitable to establish themselves at the edge of the city, the fourth and fifth zones are frequently dotted with industrial plants, steel mills, oil refineries, car works, cement factories, textile mills, large industries requiring much space.

Variations in Zone Divisions

This outline of the concentric arrangement of the city is only suggestive — in no sense is it to be considered an actual pic-

ture; yet it is sufficiently true to indicate the manner in which the city grows, pushing out toward the periphery, and it does justify the comparison used by some students who say that the city increases its size, like the tree, with ring-like growths at the outside. From the periphery to the center are found numerous layers of rings or segments arranged in cyclic order. But always these parts bear a certain consistency to one another. The area of homeless men, for instance, is generally near the center, the residential slums a little farther out, the more respectable apartment areas still farther, and beyond that the regions of single homes.

Variations from the cyclic arrangement are numerous. Chicago has some typical instances. Constituting a basic industry, the stockyards are ecologically as much of a unit as the fashion center to which we have referred. Here we have cheese-, sausage-, ice-, and can-making, tanning of leather, fertilizer plants, special advertising firms, and even localized charity projects — all incidental to the packing of meat. Also supplementary to the dominant industry is the local outer ring of commercial activities: banks, hotels, restaurants, harness and saddle shops, publications on stock raising; and sandwiched in, wherever the space will permit, live the workers in the stockyards. This ring of residence, known as "back-o'-the-Yards," is mainly an immigrant slum. It came into existence as and continues to be the convenient living quarters for the hordes of low-priced workers in the stockyards. Under the smoke and fumes of the steel mills of South Chicago is found another slum wedged in between a concentration of industry and better residence districts. Both industries, once outside the city limits, have been included and constitute breaks in the usual concentric arrangement.

The presence of the stockyards in southwest Chicago and of the steel mills in South Chicago have been determining factors in the settlement of the suburbs. Choice residential suburbs have been promoted toward the North Shore and to the west, whereas residences to the southwest and south have been taken over chiefly by the second generation of the foreign-born who moved

from the slums of the nearby west and southwest wards. Access to these suburbs is unpleasant because of the waste space and industrially occupied area which must be traversed. On the way are railroad yards, factories, rows of tenements, junk yards, and warehouses, and the air is heavy with smoke. The only exception is a short space along the lake shore south by which the rather compact region of Hyde Park — about the same distance south from the center of the city as the stockyards are southwest — and Woodlawn is reached. Hotels for resident guests and one-, two-, and three-room apartments are rapidly being built here.

Immigrant and Racial Areas

Within any of these cyclic zones an infinite number of residential, industrial, commercial areas — all meeting some occupational need of the metropolis — may be found. Nothing is more natural than for people of like culture to live in close proximity. Most conspicuous are the racial and national segregations; Chinatown, the Mexican quarter, Harlem in New York, the Black Belt in Chicago, the Japanese section in any Pacific Coast city are typical. Because of skin color these people cannot lose themselves in the second or third generation by mixing with the general population. Biologically marked, they live within their own quarters, separating there into economic and social classes, paralleling the classes found in the city as a whole. In New York's Harlem may be found all the classes and levels from the very poor, living a family in a room, to the exclusive sets on such streets as "striver's row." Harlem has its apartments as well as tenements, its business streets and its white-light district. It also has its racial prejudices. There are the southern Negroes proud to be called Americans; while opposed to them are the foreign-born West Indian Negroes who are equally proud of the fact that their fathers were never slaves. Every area tends to be a region of sentiment, whether racial or national, and to whatever degree they are dominated by points of view or are the recipients of a reputation they

tend to be areas of sentiment, and sentiments are, after all, basic to culture.

Immigrant areas are of two distinct types and may be designated as areas of first and second settlement. The first is decidedly of the Old World — tradition-loving, and somewhat peasant-like in its community relations; the second is garishly American after the pattern of the movie and tabloid newspaper, — distinctly iconoclastic and urbane. In the first we find efforts to defend the old culture, and to retain the language against the onslaughts of life in the American city. In the second, there is nothing distinctive to defend, and nothing to preserve. They of the second generation drop all they can of the Old World culture, identifying themselves with the American life in which they participate daily. Significant is the fact that each influx into the immigrant community is only another class of immigrants. The foreign quarters in some of the northern cities which have been settled by Negroes and Mexicans are the only exceptions to this rule. Eventually such a community will disappear entirely or be shifted to some other locality. We quote from Deri's account of Yorkville:

Hungarians and Czechoslovaks founded their respective colonies in Yorkville about twenty years ago. Before that both groups had their respective quarters south of Fourteenth and north of First, where scattered remnants of the one-time Hungarian and Bohemian colonies may still be found. The great wave of immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe brought hundreds of thousands of prospective dwellers to the overcrowded quarters of the lower East Side. Rents began to go up, while at the same time the city expanded northward and new tenement houses were erected in Yorkville with more improvements to offer and with a neighborhood more desirable in the eyes of the older immigrants. So an exodus started. The Jewish colony on the lower East Side, needing more and more space, was meanwhile on the heels of the departing Central Europeans, and filled every tenement as fast as it was emptied. Hundreds of Hungarian and Bohemian families took possession of the new quarters north of Sixty-fifth Street, Hungarians generally preferring the streets between First and Second Avenues, Bohemians founding a new colony between First Avenue and Avenue A. At the same time

Germans, appropriating Third Avenue, stretched northward along this line up to Eighty-sixth Street.[15]

This was really the third move for the German colony referred to, which had settled in the '40's in the vicinity of City Hall on the east side of Manhattan. At that time, the Wall Street section was the business center. In the '60's the increase of Jewish population around them forced the Germans up the island to about Fourteenth Street, away from what was then the center of the city. In the '80's, as the influx of Jews overtook them, the Germans advanced a third time, taking the center of the colony with all its institutions and stores about four miles farther up Manhattan to Yorkville where the German *Turnverein* still stands, although a German quarter, as such, has disappeared. As Deri observes, this is exactly what is happening to the other groups:

> . . . Many of the families had saved up a small fortune during the war and longed to live in a better environment, in more comfortable quarters.
>
> Because of the speculation then going on in Yorkville, rents were high considering the extremely limited comfort these antiquated and sordid tenements offered. Pioneering members considered the possibility of moving away from Yorkville. The usual road of migration, however, that to the north, was blocked by the Italian colony that occupied the territory from Ninety-sixth Street upward to Harlem, where during the last fifteen years another small European colony has organized itself. The most natural field for the new colonization seemed to be to Long Island, where real estate companies were busy developing Astoria and Elmhurst.

The opening of rapid transit and subway lines gave added impetus to this movement to Long Island where these people had moved to build a new colony and to live in their own homes. Mr. Deri intimates that prosperity is the cause of the move, but the widening of the apartment zone from the west along avenues parallel to those of the foreign colonies was also influential. Land values are now rising so rapidly that the foreign population finds

it profitable to sell. Moreover, since they want families, they would not be happy in the apartments where children are taboo.

Areas Reflect the Life Within

The extent to which an area is unique is decisive in determining its status in the community at large. This is of material interest to the sociologist who learns that these residential parts are, as in fact are all sections of a city, areas of habit — the physical groundwork or frame into which urban society has woven itself, which bears witness to the order of urban existence, and in which it has its basis. In an essay on the city, Robert Park says:

> In the course of time every section and quarter of the city takes on something of the character and qualities of its inhabitants. Each separate part of the city is inevitably stained with the peculiar sentiments of its population. The effect of this is to convert what was at first a mere geographical expression into a neighborhood, that is to say, a locality with sentiments, traditions, and a history of its own. Within this neighborhood the continuity of the historical processes is somehow maintained. The past imposes itself upon the present, and the life of every locality moves on, more or less independent of the larger circle of life and interests about it.[18]

We might add that in atmosphere the area may achieve, by the local color which Dr. Park describes, a character of its own, living a life apart, but in its mundane activities gearing in with every other functioning section of the city. The essence of the attraction of slumming or dining in quaint places lies in hunting out these areas for the interest or thrill they afford. The most exclusive street in the city, the most poverty-ridden, or the most depraved, each has a character of its own. In his *1001 Afternoons in Chicago,* describing the color of city streets, Ben Hecht has portrayed vividly the distinctiveness of streets and neighborhoods. This personality of the neighborhood exists in and is carried on by the population although a constant moving in and out goes on. Hobohemia is a culture area, and whoever ventures near to partake of its life either finds himself contributing his bit or he

feels uncomfortable. An atmosphere prevails here that may be found in any city where hobos meet. Other areas are equally distinctive. The prototype of each of the three following may be found in any cosmopolitan American city.

"Atmosphere" Areas

The first is Greektown — a culture area for men alone since the Greeks have not been able, because of economic pressure or the immigration laws, to bring their women to America. As is frequently the case at the initial stage of a migration, men are overabundant. Greek life here centers in the coffee house, an Old World institution, where Greeks meet and sit around tables to drink, gossip, talk business, read the paper and discuss the news, or read and pass around letters from home. Hobohemia is sometimes outspoken in the expression of its loneliness, often drinking to forget its woes. The Greek is probably as lonely, but he is not so demonstrative; he is content to brood away the time in his coffee house or dine leisurely in the Greek restaurants.

Another culture area is Chinatown, probably the least understood of all our urban sections. Quietly accepting their social ostracism, the Chinese have made their isolation more complete by retreating behind a veil of silence and mystery. Chinatown is often the haunt of the chronic slummer whose interest has been whetted by fictitious yarns about its mysteries, and the Chinese, saying nothing and hence disillusioning no one, is not slow to make capital of this credulous imagination. He feeds the slummer Chinese dishes and sells him souvenirs, but he continues to nurse his isolation. Neither smiling nor frowning on the rest of the city, he receives visitors without bustle, quietly takes their money if they care to buy, and, without comment, returns to his seat.

A third area of atmosphere is Bohemia with its own cosmopolitanism displayed in loud colors and fantastic shapes. In any city, Bohemia is a typical poor rooming and light-housekeeping quarter

where conventional home life has lost most of its traditional attributes. Here is the art center of the city. Poverty frequently abounds, but it is honored or ostensibly courted as a symbol of the artistic life, since the Bohemian is presumed to be sufficiently emancipated to be above its sting. Bent on expression, the Bohemian chronically challenges convention. Bohemia has its own life and heroes, its tea-rooms, forums, and little theatres. It too is a mecca for slummers who come to dance and dine by dim candle light, or to talk about "complexes." Bohemia is a reality in any city although it may not everywhere be as pronounced as it is in the cities of the million class. Besides being the home of artists, it is as often the rendezvous of cranks, and the various devices which assist in parading its colors are frequently highly commercialized.[17]

The Organic Trend

The same forces of economy that fashion the occupational area in the city will ultimately force the area into still closer unity, much as the scattered cells in biological development are combined in an organism. The apartment and apartment hotel are approaches to the organic unity of an area. An apartment that houses a hundred families has combined in a working unity what ordinarily would be a hundred homes on a hundred separate plots of ground. The department store and the mail-order house are performing a similar function in the field of commerce. An example of how it can be done on a large scale in industry is the Bush Terminal Company in Brooklyn — an aggregate of immense concrete loft buildings covering ten or twelve city blocks. The space is rented to 350 manufacturers with approximately 40,000 employees. Bush Terminal furnishes heat, light, power, elevator and truck service, engines to bring the freight cars in and out. In the warehouses, the tenants can find space to store their raw materials or finished products. There is a cold storage plant and a series of eight docks used by twenty-seven steamship lines. At first glance, this seems like monopoly, but

it is the inevitable kind of concentration which follows in the wake of competition and specialization.

Examination of the city shows that it is an aggregate of innumerable parts, highly specialized and interdependent, but also highly impersonal and inconstant in their functional relations. Continually changing position, coming into or going out of existence, they thereby become more or less interdependent. No part or function is comprehensible alone, but must be studied and oriented with reference to the city as a whole. From the field of biology we borrow a statement which seems particularly apropos.

The existence of definite and orderly correlation between parts depends of course on the existence of definite and orderly differences in the parts concerned, however such differences may have arisen. These two factors, then, physiological differences in and physiological correlations between parts, constitute "the organism as a whole." [18]

The biologist does not complain because he finds certain animals growing long or short legs. No more should the student of society be grieved if the theatre district increases abnormally or another of the many districts declines. The theatre is as natural as radio town, the fashion center, or Chinatown. It is one of a great many specialized areas which play an intimate part in the aggregate life of the city. Once he understands the relation of the problem area to the rest of the city the student of society will probably decide not to wipe it out but to control it so that, still retaining its identity and yet without being a problem, it can continue to function in the life of the city as a whole.

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Diagram a given city in terms of its occupational areas. Then proceed to indicate its population areas. Is there a definite relation between the two?

2. An urban dweller may work in one district, live in another, and express his sociable and recreational self in still another. Select a number

of urban personalities and diagram their activities according to these areas.

3. " Plant ecologists," according to Wirth (" Bibliography of the Urban Community " in *The City*, by Park and Burgess, page 188), " have been accustomed to use the expression ' natural area ' to refer to well-defined spatial units having their own peculiar characteristics. In human ecology the term ' natural area ' is just as applicable to groupings according to selective and cultural characteristics." Is this a sound analogy? Describe a " natural area " in a city.

4. Is a residential area thought of with respect to its boundary or its center? And, is it true that functional areas, because of the struggle for space, are thought of in terms of the center rather than the boundary?

5. Diagram the arrangement of departments in a large department store. Do the various counters bear a definite relationship to each other and to the movement of the crowds in and out of the store? Is this arrangement in any sense comparable to the areas of a city?

6. Discuss the relative importance and stability of occupational, political, ethnic, and residential areas in a given city.

7. A metropolitan community frequently extends beyond other and older villages, towns, or cities. Often these communities resist inclusion within the larger unit. Give illustrations of this sort, indicating the reasons for this resistance.

8. Some cities retain their municipal independence long after they have become nothing more than one of the areas of a larger city. Does this hinder the growth of the larger community?

9. The so-called law of urban congestion indicates that the increase of population causes plant life to disappear first; then animal life, children, and finally women. Study given areas of congestion with this law in mind.

10. Certain occupations, industries, and services tend to group in areas; others tend to disperse according to some principle of population distribution. Discuss these two tendencies.

11. Would it be advisable to disperse certain services, industries, etc., such as theatres? Upon what principle could such dispersal be based?

12. The statement has been made that the city grows like a tree, taking on new growth at the periphery but dying at the heart. While this is only relatively true, it has served as the basis of a description of urban growth in terms of concentric circles (see Burgess, " Growth of the City," *The City*, p. 51–55). Movement is from inner circles to

outer circles. Circles tend to be zones of related areas, beginning with business at the center, then a belt of factories, then of workingmen's homes, then a zone of residence, and finally the commuter's zone. Try on the map of any city to ascertain to what extent it does fall into such a concentric pattern of occupancy.

13. Certain urban areas are often explained in terms of mobility. For example, it is stated that the more transient the population of a given area is, the more easily is it invaded by strangers. Discuss this principle in terms of characteristic areas of foreign-born populations, homeless men, etc.

14. In the past, newly-arrived immigrants were accustomed to move directly to the area occupied by people of the same or similar racial and cultural characteristics. Is this still true? It has often been stated that the new immigrant moves into the poorest houses and tenements, and by underliving the residents, gradually drives them from the district, thus dispersing the immigrant groups. Can members of the class find illustrations of this in a city under their observation?

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. Address at the City Club of New York, reported in the *New York Times*, 12–5–26, p. 26. On congestion, see also the issue of the *Survey Graphic*, put out by the Regional Planning Association of America, Vol. 7 (May, 1925).
2. Mid-American Reflections, by Lewis Mumford, in the *New Republic*, October 12, 1927.
3. *English Life and Manners in the Late Middle Ages*, by A. Abram (George Routledge, London, 1913), p. 93. See also *English Merchants*, by H. R. Fox Bourne (Chatto and Windus, London, 1886).
4. *New York Times*, January 16, 1927; XX–9.
5. S. D. Adshead, p. 143, article in *The Future of London*, a symposium edited by Aston Webb, 1921.
6. Henri Bonnet, "La Carte des pauvres à Paris," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Vol. 35 (1906), 380–420.
7. See Section IV, pp. 227–304, on slums, Calcutta Improvement Trust Report on *Condition, Improvement and Town Planning of the City of Calcutta and Contiguous Areas*, E. P. Richards (Jennings and Bewley, of Ware, Hertfordshire, England, 1914, 2 vols.).
8. See the first and second chapters of *The Gang*, by Frederic Thrasher (U. of Chicago, 1927). The social disorganization attending gang

organization he relates to the slum, which is an interstitial area at the fringe of the better residential areas.

9. *The Hobo*, by Nels Anderson, is a study of homeless men made in Chicago; it tends to be a picture of an occupation area (U. of Chicago Press, 1922).
10. Professor Harvey Zorbaugh of New York University is preparing a book which is a study of rooming-house and light-housekeeping areas in Chicago. He has an article on the subject in *The Urban Community*, pp. 98–106, ed. by E. W. Burgess.
11. The Regional Plan of New York and its Environs has published a study of *The Clothing and Textile Industries*.
12. See "The Growth of the City," Chapter II, in *The City*, by Park and Burgess.
13. T. J. Jones, *The Sociology of a New York Block*, Columbia U. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. 21, 1904. A statistical study of types and temperaments of slum population.
14. In most large cities, housing surveys have been made, and most of these surveys have revealed not only overcrowded houses but also overcrowded space, that is, as much as 100% of the lot covered with the building. If these surveys succeeded in doing nothing else, they brought about building codes, which in some cities, besides making other minimum requirements, will not permit more than from 70% to 50% of the lot space to be used.
15. *New York Times Magazine Section*, Oct. 24, 1926, E. Deri.
16. See Park and Burgess, *The City*; p. 6.
17. See Maxwell Bodenheim, "On Literary Groups," *American Mercury*, Vol. 3:206–8.
18. See *Psychological Foundations of Behavior*, by Charles M. Child (New York, 1924). Child speaks of the total working of an organism as "organismic" behavior.

PART II

FUNCTIONS OF THE CITY

V. Supplying the City
VI. Waste and Salvage
VII. Transportation and Mobility
VIII. Recreation
IX. The Mechanized Urban Environment

V

INTRODUCTION

We examine structures in order to discover the nature of functions. Scientists are not primarily interested in learning the precise nature of matter; they are concerned to learn how matter behaves. In the whole range of science the objective is the same, namely, to discover the laws of behavior.

Once we begin to view the city as an object in space and in relations, our attention turns naturally to the question: What happens within this context? Obviously, and viewed somewhat roughly, the city represents a vast amount of movement — movement in production, exchange, consumption, in space, time, and energy. Urban inhabitants cannot grow their own food, but somehow they must be fed. And when people live together in large aggregates, large elements of waste are likely to ensue. Some theorists even go so far as to insist that the city is itself a wasteful form of living. Moreover, when a large number of people live in a small area, they must be transported from place to place. How is this accomplished? And what is the relationship between this movement in space and time and the social end-results of urban life? Again, the city invariably is called upon to furnish play, recreation, and amusement for residents and visitors. These are all various aspects of urban movement which can be understood fully only when one comprehends how much the modern city depends upon machines. Indeed the urban environment may be viewed as a complex of mechanical contrivances and motions. Somehow human beings must learn how to accommodate themselves to this mechanized necessity. Part II is devoted chiefly to an analysis of these various functional aspects of urban life which are derived from its movement.

SUPPLYING THE CITY

Urban-Rural Interdependence

In a previous chapter the city was considered in relation to its hinterland. The two were associated in a form of metropolitan housekeeping. The give and take of the intercourse between them is essentially a two-fold division of labor in which each contributes to the well-being of the other. This associational pattern, though it is more complex and extensive, is fundamentally not unlike that which maintained between the manorial household and the people on the land. Each supplied or served and was served by the other. Feudalism was a mutual arrangement, even though the lord who gave protection was master and the vassal who provided the food and did the work was a serf.

The essential supplies of the municipal household are of three classes: (1) food, coal, water, and other consumption goods; (2) wood, iron, pulp, wool, cotton, raw food supplies, and other materials in which labor is invested; and (3) structural materials for buildings and equipment. Quite the reverse of feudal economy, this interchange of materials and services between the city and its area of supply is carried on through the impersonal channels of an open and competitive market. Moreover, the city's hinterland of supply as well as the periphery of its influence may, depending upon the situation, be world-wide. The more numerous the services a city can render, the greater the number of people who find reason for residing within its bounds; hence the greater its demands for foodstuffs, raw materials, and general supplies.

We could reverse the last statement and say that the nature and size of the city are also conditioned by the nature, abundance,

and variety of supplies that the hinterland is able to furnish. Thus city and country become market to each other, in their normal relations, mutually interdependent, though in a crisis the security of the city declines. It does not and cannot produce the materials it needs for its consumption. The ancient city, though it served as a market, also secured itself by levying tribute upon its hinterland. The modern city, unless it offers something for which there is a demand, is without place in the trade relations which are the life of modern society. The ancient city was a law unto itself so long as its military power was intact, but the modern city, being without an army, is only a power to the degree that its position permits it to function in an economic relation with its hinterland. In no sense can this be a parasitic relationship.[1] If New York is larger than Boston it is because of its availability to a larger market. But in either case the city must be supplied surely and continuously. For every inhabitant within its limits there must be available each day a minimum quantity of goods.

City Control of Sources of Supply

Although the modern city does not resort to military force, it does by various means endeavor to wield economic control over the sources of its supplies. This is accomplished: (1) corporately, as when the city leases or buys tracts for parks and playgrounds, or buys other land for water storage; (2) by exercising regulative control over the source of supplies, as when it requires by inspection that foodstuffs and milk come up to certain standards; (3) through the control exercised by large industries over their sources of raw material, as when an automobile manufacturer buys iron mines and rubber plantations or a soap manufacturer takes over large tracts in South Africa from which the necessary vegetable oils are procured. Even more potent than these direct methods are the indirect influences growing out of the fact that in the present industrial and capitalistic society the city resolves itself into the control center for the two indispensable

elements of production, management and capital. All these material evidences of control conspire also to give the city a psychological prestige that redounds to its advantage in all its relation with the hinterland.

The city's most immediate stake in its hinterland relates to water. This is its most vulnerable spot, since water is an absolute requirement. From the mountains thirty-six miles distant, ancient Rome brought its supply of water through aqueducts. Some American cities conduct water by means of underground pipes and aqueducts[2] even greater distances. The water for Los Angeles is brought by concrete syphons from mountain streams 230 miles over the hills.[3] Securing sufficient water is never a minor problem in the large cities. New York City uses more than 850,000,000 gallons a day while the city's supply has a minimum capacity of 1,100,000,000 gallons a day. But the population is increasing so rapidly that eight years hence more water will be needed. Therefore, new sources in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Connecticut are about to be tapped. Ultimately there will be a limit because the more territory New York City controls for its own uses the less there will be for other cities of the region.

With respect to foodstuffs, especially milk, the city maintains an inspection over the sources of supply. This involves examination of vegetables, fruits, and meats, not only as they enter the city but also during the processes of distribution and consumption. The inspection of milk is scrupulously enforced. Municipalities inspect dairies and test cows, even though the herds are pastured in other states.[4] Dairies that do not meet the requirements are closed to the trade and diseased cows are killed. Quite in line with this principle is the practice of some cities of regulating the smoke nuisance by permitting only the smokeless hard coals to be burned. This tends to force up the price of hard coal. Some cities also try to combat the smoke nuisance by forcing the railroads operating within their limits to electrify their lines. An example is the electrification of the Illinois Central Railroad

along the lake shore in Chicago. The demand of Chicago for coal was thereby lessened, but that section of the city was made so much more pleasant that more people moved in and demands for other commodities increased. When the city through such regulation decrees what it can and will consume it also informs the hinterland what it should endeavor to produce. So, when the tastes of the people change one way or another, they indicate to the areas of supply what the *demand* is.

To a large degree as the city controls *standards of quality*, and to a lesser degree as it controls *weights and measures*, its wants are made known to the regions of production. City building and equipment requirements change with the development of the arts, tending to increase in quantity, and to become more varied and refined in quality. With the greater strains which accompany heavier loads, higher speeds, and such architectural achievements as tubes and subways, bridges a mile long, and skyscrapers twelve hundred feet high, the demands upon the quality of the material become more and more exacting. This applies to every form of goods whether to be consumed by the city or to be returned by the city to the market as a finished product.

Roundabout Consumption

None of the goods that come to the city are consumed as original natural utilities. Labor must be invested in them in transporting them from their point of production. What the economists call "place utility" is added. Coal is an illustration. It must be loaded into cars, hauled by train, shunted in the terminals, and finally unloaded at the point of consumption. It may be consumed in warming a house, in cooking meals, or in heating a boiler. In the last-named use it may contribute to the manufacture of farm machinery. The brick and stone brought from the outskirts of the city, and produced with tools and machinery of urban manufacture, must also have place utility added before it can be used in the city's structure. Wheat that

is brought to the city flour mills and other commodities that are changed from a raw to a finished state are not only increased in value by adding place utility but are also changed from one form to another, consuming city labor in the process. This is "form utility." The mines ship ore to the smelters in some industrial suburb where it is manufactured into ingots or "pigs." At another plant the crude metal is refined, and elsewhere it is made into commercial articles, perhaps the sheet metal that is used in automobile bodies. In this single relationship, the hinterland supplies the city with raw material which furnishes employment for the city-dweller. In his hands the raw material becomes a consumer's commodity. It may become a consumer's commodity for either the city or its hinterland. If it returns to the hinterland, it becomes a form of recompense for the raw material supplied. This roundabout exchange accomplishes between city and country essentially what barter did in the days when the farmer took a basket of eggs to town and returned with a basket of groceries.

Intrinsically this is a problem in economics, but the involved nature of the interchange of supplies, of changing their form, and of the incidental exchanges, is equally sociological. It relates to the lives of people and the social relationships of groups. There is no economic relationship, even the most stereotyped, that does not have its socio-psychological and sociological implications. Whatever the economic nature of the modern city may be, it is a changing social phenomenon; a heterogeneous arrangement of human beings producing and consuming, and trying to live with one another in terms of these mundane material facts which at first blush seem to be purely economic. In production it is becoming more and more diversified and specialized, which has meaning to the sociologist. In consumption it is becoming more cosmopolitan as well as homogeneous, which is also significant to the sociologist.

Feeding a City

The social aspects of urban consumption are most evident in connection with food. An interpretation of urban life on the basis of food consumption would be unique and valuable — a subject broad enough in its range to capture the imagination of a Zola,[5] and sufficiently involved to challenge the spirit of investigation of the social scientist. The city-dweller can compromise on clothing, but not on food; it is his basic want — the first to disturb him if threatened with shortage, and the last to be surrendered. For his physical needs he must have daily, weekly, monthly, yearly, certain minimum quantities and varieties of foodstuffs varying normally from 1600 to 2000 pounds a year.[6] Multiplying this by 5,620,480 gives us the amount for New York, by 2,701,705 for Chicago, by 993,678 for Detroit, and by 29,238,582 for the twenty-nine metropolitan districts in the United States (1920 United States Census).

From the estimates of Paul H. Nystrom we see how the quantities of food, as expressed in value, compare with expenditures for other things.[7] He estimates (1923) $35,000,000,000 as the amount paid for consumption goods purchased at retail by the total population of the United States; $15,800,000,000 of this amount went for food. (See table at top of page 100.)

Nystrom estimates another $16,000,000,000 as the amount spent on other than consumptive goods including rent, charity, professional service, recreation, and other purposes. How much of this total amount could be called urban expenditure would have to be conjecture, there being 12,803,047 urban family units (1920) of 4.2 persons each and 11,548,629 rural family units of 4.5 persons each.

Some notion of the magnitude of the problem of feeding the city is obtained by scanning the list of some of the staple foods which are brought into New York. The amount consumed in the Port of New York District in 1920 as checked by The

ITEM	*Billions of Dollars*
Food:	
Groceries and meats, and so forth — including only part sold by retailers	15.8
Clothing:	
Men's, women's and children's — including both ready-to-wear and piece goods, but not value of home dressmaking; footwear, underwear, hats, and so forth, included	7.9
Furniture and House Furnishing:	
Including floor coverings, draperies, curtains, and so forth	2.4
Automobiles, accessories, oil, gas, and so forth for pleasure purposes only	3.0
Tobacco Products	1.7
Beverages (non-alcoholic), ice cream, and so forth	.8
Candy and chewing gum	.8
Jewelry, watches, and so forth	.49
Pianos, organs, and so forth	.46
Fur articles	.18
Perfumes and cosmetics	.15
Toilet soaps, and so forth	.15
Miscellaneous	1.17
Total	35.00

Regional Plan of New York and its Environs is suggestive of the bulk:

	Net Receipts (pounds)
Flour and wheat in terms of flour	1,411,200,000
Rye	163,326,464
Barley	41,490,432
Rice	90,000,000
Milk	2,010,673,266
Fresh meat and provisions	817,342,060
Live poultry	156,399,000
Dressed poultry	98,499,599
Fresh vegetables	1,485,502,041
Butter	158,327,512
Cheese	36,467,875

Fish; fresh and frozen	200,000,000
Fish; dried, smoked, pickled	43,500,000
Sugar (trade estimate)	692,240,000
Coffee (trade estimate)	119,880,000
Tea (trade estimate)	25,000,000
Dried fruits (trade estimate)	51,000,000
Nuts; walnuts and almonds only (trade estimate)	4,500,000
Dried beans and peas (trade estimate)	69,600,000
Canned fruits and vegetables (not available)	
Vegetable oils and compounds (trade estimate)	36,000,000
Evaporated and condensed milk	144,000,000
Lard	154,523,675
Eggs	156,791,869[8]

A rough estimate of the quantities needed to feed to metropolitan New York the amount of the above and other necessary foodstuffs it really requires would place the figure approximately at six or seven million tons—a conservative estimate, as is proved by a comparison with Artman's figures for 1923 showing the quantity of fresh fruits and vegetables delivered to the New York district. It should be borne in mind that much of the fresh fruits and vegetables consigned to the wholesale markets of New York are really shipped there to be broken in bulk and retailed to the populous suburbs. Artman gives a total of 182,512 carloads of fresh fruits and vegetables, of which 150,012 carloads were brought in by rail and water, and an estimated 19,000 carloads by truck.[9] Thirteen thousand, five hundred carloads of bananas from Central and South America are a separate item. More than three-fourths of the total quantity were received from the rural areas of the United States. The average haul of each carload was approximately 1500 miles. Below are listed the ten states contributing the largest amounts:

California	30,665	carloads
New York	23,557	"
Florida	20,034	"
Virginia	9,425	"
New Jersey	8,517	"

Maine	6,541	carloads
South Carolina	5,756	"
Washington	5,394	"
North Carolina	3,967	"
Georgia	2,965	"

The overhead cost of furnishing perishable products increases proportionately with the size of the city. More overhead organization is needed, yet the market is so great and so certain that if perishables are available anywhere, they may be had in the city. The farmer, truck gardener, or fruit grower in the South or West can depend on an enormous consumption of fresh fruit and vegetables by the cities of the Atlantic seaboard, and consequently the housewife in New York can buy all the year through spinach, lettuce, fresh carrots, beets, etc. At the same time the housewives of any village fifty miles from New York have difficulty procuring such goods except for brief seasons, unless they are shipped from the New York market. Statistics for 1926 show that receipts of fresh fruits and vegetables had risen to 213,686 carloads. Since the World War the average number of carloads annually has increased by 10,000. In 1926 the two leading commodities were white potatoes, 21,000 cars, and grapes, 19,000 cars, and the demands for grapes on the part of home wine-makers is on the increase. During the pre-Volstead days New York never consumed more than 2500 carloads of grapes per year.[10]

A New York Standard of Living

Some idea of the cosmopolitan tastes of the city consumer is to be gained from the itemized food budget for a family able to pay from $18 to $19 a week for food, compiled by the National Industrial Conference Board:

Minimum Requirements and Average Minimum Cost of Food for One Week Based on the Needs of Two Men, Two Women, and One Older Child under 14 Years of Age, or Two Younger Children, Living at a Fair American Standard in New York in 1926.[11]

Item	*Quantity (in pounds)*
Meat and Fish	
Leg lamb	5
Hamburger steak	1½
Flank steak	1
Pork chops	1½
Bacon	½
Bologna sausage	1
Fresh fish	1½
Dried cod	1
Can salmon	1
Dairy Products	
Milk	14 qts.
Butter	2
Oleomargarine	1
Lard	½
Cheese	1
Eggs	2 doz.
Vegetables	
Potatoes	2 pks.
Carrots	3
Onions	4
Cabbage	4
Dried beans	2
Can tomatoes	2 1/16
Cocoa	½
Fruit	
Oranges	3 doz.
Bananas	¾ "
Apples	6
Raisins	1
Prunes	2
Dried apricots	1
Bread, Cereals, Sugar	
White bread	15
Wheat bread	3
Corn meal	1
Rice	1
Macaroni	1
Rolled oats	3
Soda crackers	1
Granulated sugar	5
Syrup	1
Teas, Coffee, Etc.	
Tea	¼
Coffee	1
Condiments	10¢
Ice	20¢

Included in the foregoing budget are forty-one commodities which are recognized as essential to a fair standard of living — for the most part standardized commodities sold in cans, packages, or cartons. Only a small amount is chosen of the goods included in the 213,686 cars of fresh fruits and vegetables brought into New York in 1926, which implies that the average New Yorker's food budget is much richer than the " fair budget " provides. A comparison of this food budget with those of previous years shows that the number of commodities admitted as necessities has increased.

Food and Culture

For the average city-dweller, eating is often an art or a pastime, but for the national groups living in "quarters," who have their own restaurants where the foods of their homeland are prepared in their own manner, eating takes on the form of a ceremony. The Greek in America enjoys his social life in the coffee house or restaurant, as does also the Italian, the Hungarian, the Turk, and the Russian. The alien in the strange city naturally tries to create a culture-center where he can bask in a bit of the atmosphere of his homeland. Such a center — on the East Side of New York many may be found — usually begins around a national restaurant or some other social center, but generally in conjunction with the characteristic old-world foods. A shop for preparing such foods is soon started in the group quarter, or perhaps a store opens to deal especially in the imported foods of that national group. Acquiring a sentimental meaning, foods that were necessities in the old country rise to the rank of luxuries here. Foreign-quarter restaurants frequently become highly artificial because they are sought out and haunted by slummers in search of "atmosphere" and local color.[12] Often certain foods become identified with racial or national groups, as spaghetti with the Italians or chop suey with the Chinese.

The food habits of national, religious, and racial groups are commercially exploited in other respects as well. The dietary laws of the Jews have a profound influence upon the meat-eating habits of New Yorkers. The Jewish law requires that animals be slaughtered in a special manner, that only certain parts be used, and that the meat may be consumed no less than twenty-four hours and no more than seventy-two hours after the killing. Cold storage meats cannot compete for such trade; the animals must be slaughtered locally. As a result, a very lucrative butcher business catering to the Jews and other groups which prefer fresh to cold-storage meats has grown up near Manhattan. By means of good salesmanship the impression has been spread abroad that

the best meat is to be had in the *kosher* butcher shops. In 1922, sixty-two per cent of all the meat consumed in New York was slaughtered locally, including not only cattle, sheep, and hogs, but also live poultry. In 1925 New York consumed 10,463 carloads of live poultry. From p. 101–2, where the quantities of foodstuffs used in New York in 1920 are given, we find that 156,399,000 pounds of live poultry against 98,499,599 pounds of dressed poultry were consumed. A similar influence is seen as a result of the rule of certain religious groups, notably the Catholics, to eat fish on Friday. It is now a generally accepted eating habit and, like the demand for kosher meat, is to be reckoned with.

"Streams" of Supply

Naturally in the temperate zones, different kinds of food grow in different seasons. The traditional task of the rural housewife was to preserve, dry, or can as much as possible of each food as it came in season. Food is still seasonal, but industry has taken over the job of preparing and storing it for the off-seasons. The canning business has relieved the city consumer of the task of watching the seasons. If he is aware of them, it is with reference to fresh fruits and vegetables. He eats grapefruit until strawberries come in. Canteloupes follow strawberries and then come watermelons, peaches, and the fall fruits. In this respect he is conscious of the seasons, but is not inconvenienced by them. If he lives in New York, he knows that the first strawberries come from California or the South, and after a month or two from New Jersey. He has the assurance that if strawberries are ready in any part of the country they will, by means of the rapid and cheap transportation systems, find their way to him in due time.

The organized activity of feeding a city is a process on the one hand delicate and responsive to many influences, and is on the other vast and awkward. The movement of many commodities from rural producer to urban consumer obviously must

be sure and continuous. Each and every commodity in reference to which a consumer's habit has been established must always be on hand. Lettuce now has no season. Recognized as a necessity, the extensive endeavor to grow and ship it has been effective, and the supply is drawn throughout the year from one section or another. Milk handling constitutes an excellent example of what is meant by a supply stream. Figuratively speaking, lines of pipe connect the aggregate of dairies to the city. Gas enters the urban home in a similar stream, and the stream or current of electric light, heat, and power is brought by wire. In these terms it may be said that commodities with the use of which habits have been identified — after they have become imperative needs of the city-dweller — must be supplied the city in a constant and even flow, for at least two reasons. First, an assured supply is a safeguard against the danger of overstocking. A dealer who can order every day, being reasonably sure that the goods will be available in the proper amounts, banks his future on the prospect of a continuous flow. The same holds true for the jobber and manufacturer, going daily with the finished product to the market and securing his supply of raw materials. Second, the consumer does not have to lay in supplies, and consequently unit retail sales are small. Artman found that they ranged from three to three and one-half pounds to the purchase in fourteen different fruits and vegetables. The price on each purchase varied from nine and nine-tenths cents minimum to twelve and eight-tenths cents maximum. Apparently the more highly organized the household, the smaller the purchases. The store serves as pantry and larder; but the store itself buys for the day and by the day. For the same fourteen articles, Artman found that the jobbers' sale was from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five pounds.[12] The jobbers, of whom there are approximately six hundred in New York, also purchase in small quantities, depending upon the wholesalers — about two hundred and fifty in New York — who stock up for no more than a day or so in advance. It is they who make contact with the carriers and the sources of supply. The

wholesaler may buy a stock of wheat in advance but keep it in the elevators in the Dakotas until a few days before he sells it.

For the dealer, the method of feeding the city is an art as well as a business. He acts as a partner with the housewife in the new household economy symbolized by the apartment. He is not only the distributor of the old market-basket days, but the adviser as well. The green-grocer, for example, arranges his goods not only so that they are inviting to the eyes, but are also suggestive for the next meal.[14]

The foregoing discussion contains some suggestion of the relationship between the food market and the urbanite who has the most indirect contact with sources. Living detached from nature and all the attitudes which exist among agricultural and pastoral peoples, his source of supply is the milkman, the grocer, the baker, and butcher; not the dairyman, the farmer, or the herder. His supply is conditioned by the thinness or thickness of his pocket-book. To the farmer, the food supply depends upon forces outside himself — the weather, soil, and pests — as well as his own work.

Food Supply and City Growth

If limited in its own resources and difficult of access, an urban area will ultimately suffer a decline in population, or at least there will be a decline in the rate of increase. In the following table, seven New England cities are compared with seven cities of approximately the same size in other sections of the country, according to the United States Census for 1910 and 1920.

City	*1910 Census*	*1920 Census*	*% Increase*
St. Louis, Mo.	687,029	772,897	12.4
Boston, Mass.	670,585	748,060	11.6
Providence, R. I.	224,326	237,595	5.9
Columbus, Ohio	181,511	237,031	30.6

City	*1910 Census*	*1920 Census*	*% Increase*
Worcester, Mass.	145,986	179,754	23.1
Birmingham, Ala.	132,685	178,806	34.8
Richmond, Va.	127,628	171,667	34.5
New Haven, Conn.	133,605	162,537	21.3
Houston, Texas	78,800	138,276	75.5
Hartford, Conn.	98,915	138,036	38.6
Fall River, Mass.	119,295	120,485	.9
Trenton, N. J.	96,815	119,289	23.2
Wilmington, Del.	87,411	110,168	26.0
Cambridge, Mass.	104,839	109,694	4.6

When viewed in relation to cities of comparable size in other parts of the country, the 1910 to 1920 growth of the New England cities is slight. The average yearly growth for the seven New England cities named above was one and seven-tenths per cent, while the average yearly growth for the other seven cities was three and four-tenths per cent. The explanation is obvious: in relation to the rest of the country New England is over-populated and over-industrialized without being sufficiently accessible to the sources of supply upon which the people must live. In a study of food prices in fifty-one cities in 1923, the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics offered the comparative cost of foods in different parts of the country. Salt Lake City had the lowest cost of food per family ($336) while Boston was highest, with a cost of $425 ($99.00 higher than the lowest cost). Other cities in order were Denver, $347; Kansas City, $361; St. Louis, $373; Chicago, $378; and New York, $400. The rural comparisons are equally convincing. In 1926, Kirkpatrick made for the Department of Agriculture at Washington a study of 2,886 white farm families in selected localities of eleven states: 317 in the New England States, 1130 in the Southern States, and 1439 in the Central States. This study covered the two-year period between 1922 and 1924. It was found that at one extreme, New England farms produced but forty-nine and five-tenths per cent of the

goods consumed, while, at the other extreme, southern farms produced seventy-four and five-tenths per cent of the goods consumed.[15] The proportion of food furnished is more even, but here also the contrast is great: New England, fifty-three and four-tenths per cent; South, seventy-two and eight-tenths per cent; Central States, fifty-nine and nine-tenths per cent. The relative yearly budgets were: New England, $1692.20; South, $1551; Central States, $1613.20. Commenting on New England, Kirkpatrick writes:

> The total value of all goods used by the New England families is highest but the average size of these families is smallest (average for all was 4.8; for New England 4.7). The average size of household for the New England States is about medium, however. No attempt will be made to account in full for the higher average value of goods reported as used by the New England families. The higher value of food is doubtless due in part to higher prices reported for many of the different kinds of foods furnished and purchased near the large cities of the East.[16]

Over-urbanization and the Food Supply

Taking New England as a whole, it being predominantly urban, three-fourths of its produce must be shipped from the outside. Massachusetts is probably a typical example; only enough poultry and poultry products are raised locally for six weeks' supply, sheep for one day's, hogs for a week's, vegetables for two months', and beef and butter for but two meals.[17] Urban Massachusetts alone consumes twice as much food as all New England produces. Thus the urbanization of one section of the country is outstripping the capacity of the hinterland to supply the requisites for that growth except at a cost which will not permit its cities to compete with industrial cities elsewhere.

What is happening to New England cities, particularly Boston, bears out the accuracy of the Malthusian doctrine: with population increasing geometrically and the food supply arithmetically there is a tendency for the population to outstrip the food supply.[18] This may be expected elsewhere as soon as any

metropolitan city overtakes the capacity of its hinterland to support it. The tillable soil from which food is drawn is limited in the quantity it can be made to produce. Under a metropolitan economy, it will support a certain maximum number of people on the farms and a limited number in the villages, towns, and cities. At present migration starts when, for the standard of living in a certain area, the population reaches a point of saturation. Ultimately the saturation of New England will spread to the whole urban East. Writing on "Agricultural Capacity and Population Increase," A. E. Taylor anticipates this for the entire United States:

> When the ultimate population of the United States reaches two hundred million, one does not see how the country can raise the desired primary foods, domesticated animals, lumber, papers, and fibers. But it is not the dietary standard that makes the pressure; it is instead the standards of our social and industrial living. When to the future problems of lumber, papers, and fibers, we add those of fuel and metals, direct difficulties with the food supply would appear to be so simple as to be relatively negligible.[19]

If he were to be questioned about the obstacles to the future growth of cities as they relate to necessary supplies, his answer would be about as follows:

> The modern city dweller has a larger variety of wants than the primitive man or even the later agricultural and pastoral men, and he draws his supplies from a greater number of sources, many of them distant. He needs, besides food, wood for fuel and buildings, coal, metals, fibers. All of these are demands on space elsewhere. He needs space to live, to run his lines of communication and to play. With the space of the earth limited and the population of the earth increasing approximately one per cent a year it is obvious that ultimately we will reach the point of saturation. This being true any urban community will consume for expansion until it reaches the point of saturation when it of necessity limits itself to consumption for maintenance.

If Taylor's point of view is sound, it is significant for the future of the metropolitan city as a center of consumption, of service, and of secondary production.

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. To what extent are the growth and size of a city determined by the availability of supplies in the hinterland?

2. List the major objects used by a given city, and classify these two groups: those which come from the immediately surrounding areas, and those which come from greater distances.

3. Occasionally, the taking of one of its needed supplies by the city seriously affects outlying communities. This may happen, for example, in the case of water supply. How could this problem be solved from an engineering standpoint and the rights and privileges of the outlying communities still be conserved?

4. Legal measures for insuring the quality of food-supply for cities, such as milk-testing, cow-testing, meat, fruit, and vegetable inspection, etc., are frequently regarded as hardships upon the producers. Could the same end be achieved in other ways?

5. The task of distributing goods to city consumers has become exceedingly complicated. Trace the path covered by some single product such as a crate of eggs, a crate of oranges, a sack of sugar. The distributors who stand between the producer and the consumer are called middlemen. How many types of middlemen are involved? Could these be eliminated?

6. The so-called "back to the land" movement is frequently advocated on the ground that rapidly-growing cities will some day find themselves without an adequate food supply if the ratio between farmers and city-dwellers becomes too one-sided. Is this fear well-founded? Has there ever been a real "back to the land" movement?

7. The various occupational and functional divisions of a city are often based upon, or at least related to, varying food habits and traits of the inhabitants. Analyze and explain this relationship.

8. What is the relation between the process of preserving (canning, conserving, etc.) foods and city growth? Is the process increasing or decreasing? Why?

9. Explain why more and more foods are being sold to consumers in standard packages, cans, cartons, and receptacles. Does this increase or diminish the cost to the consumer? Are the advantages to be accounted for on other than economic grounds?

10. What changes in the food-consuming habits of urban populations may be observed? How are these changes to be explained?

11. Discuss the difficulties involved in comparing standards of living between classes within the same city and between different cities.

Aside from fluctuating markets and changes in the purchasing value of the unit of exchange, what geographical and sociological factors are involved?

12. The development in retail establishments has passed through several cycles: the country store was a department store where most of the needed articles could be purchased; as cities grew, specialization set in and stores were divided into those handling staple groceries, fruits and vegetables, men's wear, women's wear, etc.; thereupon the huge urban department store arose patterned after its rural predecessor. Is there a change in process at present? How may it be explained? Why has the modern drug-store come to be a lunch-counter and a purveyor of numerous goods which bear no direct relationship to drugs?

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. For the relation of ancient and medieval cities to their hinterlands and provinces, the following are suggested: F. de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, tr. Willard Small (Boston, 1894); Michael Rostovtzeff, *Cities of the Ancient World* (Ann Arbor, 1922); George D. Coulton, *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1918); T. W. Tickner, *Social and Industrial History of England* (London, 1915); Frederic C. Howe, *The Modern City and Its Problems* (New York, 1915).
2. "New York Reaches out for More Water," by C. G. Poore, in the *New York Times*, 4–10–27, XX–5.
3. "How Los Angeles Built the Greatest Aqueduct in the World," by Olga Brennecke, *Craftsman*, 23 (1913): 188–96.
4. See the *City Milk Supply*, by H. N. Parker (New York, 1917). This book deals chiefly with the mechanics of distribution.
5. Probably this book, *Le Ventre de Paris*, has not been translated (Paris, 1874).
6. This is an estimate based upon the findings of the National Industrial Conference Board and their budget for New York families in 1926. The quantity includes 41 articles of food for a fair standard of living.
7. "An Estimate of the Volume of Retail Business in the United States," Paul H. Nystrom, *Harvard Business Review*, January, 1925. Quoted in *The Distributive Age*, Ralph Borsodi (New York, 1927), pp. 295–300.
8. See p. 31, *Wholesale Markets in New York and Environs;* Economic

Series No. 11, George Filipetti (Publications of the Regional Plan of New York and its Environs, 1925).

9. *Food Costs and City Consumers*, by Charles E. Artman (Columbia University, New York, 1926), is a brief, significant discussion of the factors in the distribution of perishable goods. A good article on this subject is in the *Journal of Geog.*, 17 (Ap. 1919): 121–25, "The Scientific City and its Food Supply," by J. Russell Smith.
10. News article in the *New York Times*, January 23, 1927, "New York is Expanding its Diet."
11. See p. 87, *The Cost of Living in New York City*, 1926, a survey made by the National Industrial Conference Board; a rather detailed summary of cost items — housing, fuel and light, food, clothing, sundries — giving the cost of living for the family of the industrial worker as $1880.17, and of the office worker as $2119.11.
12. For a realistic description of national groups and customs, see *Around the World in New York*, by Conrad Bercovici (New York, 1914). Also read the works of Thomas Burke on London, especially *The London Spy* and *Nights in London*. In both are described the food habits of strange quarters.
13. See Artman, cited under Reference No. 8.
14. Artman, p. 32. A significant factor in making this kind of marketing possible is refrigeration. See the "Relation of Cold Storage to the Food Supply and the Consumer," by M. E. Pennington, in "The Cost of Living," *Annals of Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, 48 (1913): 155–61.
15. See *The Farmer's Standard of Living; A Socio-Economic Study of 2,886 White Farm Families of Selected Localities in 11 States*, by E. L. Kirkpatrick (U. S. Dept. of Agri. Bul. No. 1466, 1926).
16. P. 14, Kirkpatrick; see No. 14.
17. For a general discussion, see *The Food Supply of New England*, by Arthur W. Gilbert (New York, 1924).
18. For a brief and useful review of the whole theory of population, including the Malthus theory, see *Population*, by A. M. Carr-Saunders (London, 1925). There are a number of other good books on population. Many new ones usually appear after each national census-taking in the United States.
19. The paper by Taylor is one of a number in a symposium edited by Lewis I. Dublin, *Population Problems* (New York, 1926).

VI

WASTE AND SALVAGE

Waste in Nature

If we lived in a world of unlimited resources, we should not need to discuss waste. We should probably not even be conscious of it. But in populous centers our natural resources are very limited, and elsewhere they are becoming less plentiful. Being a new country with abundant resources, the United States has not felt the pinch of want except in congested cities. The urbanite, remote from the sources of supply, is the first to experience the need of curtailing waste.

Waste seems to be inherent in the natural order. In the plant and animal worlds waste is synonymous with life, the *sine qua non* of natural selection. Evolution by selection is based upon an abundance of reproduction and ruthless competition. Out of ten thousand acorns which fall, one becomes a tree. But this is not waste in the sense of this chapter where the word has a social and economic content. In nature, where waste is a method incident to the perfection of species, it may be a mark of virility. Then, too, the waste of one species may serve as food for another. Thus in the end nature is more the waster of energy than of material. A species increases to the limit of its food supply. When this is exhausted, extra increase starves. The same principle will operate in human society when we have reached the limit of our resources.

In human relations waste may be, and often is, identified with almost every activity and interest. From one source we hear of the waste of human life, and safety-first movements are urged. Again, we hear of waste through unemployment, through

labor troubles and business cycles. That is a loss in man power that must be met through industrial organization. We are often accused of wasting our natural resources, the wealth of our mines, forests, fields, and waters; and to meet this danger conservation movements are urged. Other natural resources are being wasted by not being utilized, such as water power and arid lands. There is also waste in the manufacture of commodies for the open market due to the lack of uniformity and specifications. Here the answer seems to be standardization and simplification of "non-style articles of commerce." We are often accused of being unduly wasteful in our distribution of goods because it costs too much to advertise, distribute, and retail standard commodities. There is waste in our system of education. Perhaps we are most wasteful with reference to health. The fact is that of a sudden we Americans have become "waste-conscious" and never before has there been such a drive for reclamation, conservation, and salvage. We who once wasted with impunity suddenly find ourselves completely reversing our position in favor of thrift, cost-cutting, and the utilization of by-products.

Whatever these changing points of view toward waste may be, the fluxing urban life has had much to do with bringing them about, because the city has been first to feel the sting of what Veblen calls "conspicuous consumption." But the city has also been first to feel the sting of waste through inefficiency as well as an awareness of need because of population increasing faster than supplies.

Waste as Incident to Distribution

In common-sense terms waste may either relate to the residue of consumptive goods, or the term may have reference to inadequate or inefficient consumption. In our roundabout method of transporting and marketing goods we find no little waste in the mere processes of getting goods to the consumer. There is a loss or diminishing of the quantity of goods in transit and also waste is

involved in the delays and costs of handling. This is indicated in the apportionment of the cost of distributing the apple supply of New York:[1]

Grower's Portion	23.4%
Shipping Organization	5.1
Transportation	15.3
Wholesaler's Margin	8.5
Jobber's Margin	10.4
Retailer's Margin	37.3
Total	100.0

Thus fifty-six and two-tenths per cent of the final cost of the apples is piled on after they reach New York. In 1922–1923 it was found that a box of Northwestern winesap apples cost the New York consumer five dollars and nine cents, distributed as follows:

	Dollars
Retailer's Margin	1.90
Jobber's Margin	.53
Wholesaler's Margin	.43
Transportation Charges	.78
Shipper's Margin	.26
Grower's Portion	1.19
Total	5.09

The illustration of the box of apples is only indicative. A thousand commodities brought to the city might indicate the same proportionate array of distribution costs. But any of these commodities or all of them, once they have reached their destination, present another problem in waste. This is the problem of the residue, for goods are rarely entirely consumed. Some part is always left over, and whatever the nature or amount of that residue, or from whatever angle it is viewed, it has a social connotation. Some notion of the variety and extent of the wastes attending urban

consumption is indicated by the following list, offered as a working classification:

Types of Waste

LIQUID: The personal wastes and kitchen slops; anything, in fact, that is carried away by the sewers. Ordinarily this is called sewage and sometimes is not considered in discussions of municipal waste.

FOODS: In most classifications such animal and vegetable matter as is herein included is called "garbage" — the waste incidental to eating.

ANIMAL MATTER: Including dead animals, leather, manure.

ASHES AND SWEEPINGS: Including cinders, clinkers, slate, street dirt, glass, crockery and such material — all pure waste, except cinders, which are sometimes used in concrete.

HOUSEHOLD: The goods that man uses for his comfort and convenience — clothing, books, furniture, ornaments, bedding.

INDUSTRIAL: For the most part including the mechanical utilities, the tools, vehicles, machines and a large part of the industrial waste that is produced as a by-product in the preparation of commodities for human use. In this class we should find autos, typewriters, mechanical tools and devices, and on the other hand, things of wood or leather or other material generally used in the creation of commodities.

STRUCTURAL: Brick, stone, lumber, toilet equipment, fire escapes, piping, tile, heating systems, structural steel — the materials out of which man builds a city and which have to be manipulated whenever a new building replaces an old one.

Disposal of Liquid Waste and Sewage

Doubtless some forms of waste are not included, though this classification ought to indicate the range of materials involved. Whatever policy a city may have with reference to waste, these materials must be considered. If emphasis is placed on the economic aspects of the waste problem they will be considered with a view to elimination of further utilization. If emphasis is placed on health and comfort as well as on the esthetic appearance of the city, these are the principal materials to be disposed of.

Liquid waste is, when inadequately disposed of, the greatest

menace to health of those named in the foregoing list. In the great city it is probably the most difficult to salvage. In some parts of the world attempts have been made to utilize sewage and kitchen slops but, in the main, they are not conspicuously successful. During the War, Germany demonstrated that the grease taken from liquid kitchen waste was worth millions of marks. Americans have never been pressed to this point of need, not even in the World War where careful consumption became a patriotic imperative, and "Hooverizing" became a popular passion, were we forced to the point of utilizing our liquid waste. Nor will we come to that for years to come. We build sewers instead.

Sewers, the most ancient of disposal systems, take care of the liquid waste of most municipalities, although this is not generally conceded to be a satisfactory method. The sewer only transports such liquid refuse to points elsewhere, to the inconvenience of someone else. The sewers of Chicago once emptied into Lake Michigan to the menace of the city's health and to the damage of the city's water supply, which was taken from the lake only a few miles from the shore. The city then reversed the Desplaines River which formerly flowed into Lake Michigan by converting the river into a drainage canal that conveyed water from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River and thence to the Mississippi. On complaint that this is lowering the level of the Great Lakes, pressure is being brought to force Chicago to seek other methods of waste disposal.

Every day the sewers of New York carry to the bay 880,000,000 gallons of liquid waste. Only five per cent of this is screened of solid material, so that the waters about the city are in a constant state of pollution.[2] But screening alone is no protection; sewage must be treated. In another process by which the sewage is passed through Imhoff tanks about forty per cent of the solid material is removed. A more satisfactory process is one that combines the tanks, the filters, and the use of bacteria. Philadelphia uses such a system with fair success, and Chicago is preparing to install a similar one.

Disposal of Solid Waste

But wastes other than the liquid exist which cannot be eliminated in this fashion. Solid animal and vegetable matter must be hauled away for disposal by various methods. In some places it is buried, burned, fed to hogs, or dumped into the sea, or, as in some European countries, spread on the land. Elsewhere fats and other by-products are extracted by the reduction process. Dumping garbage on the land or sea, as New York does, obviously has its disadvantages, as bathers along the New Jersey shore can testify. Here the refuse, being washed ashore, is a constant menace to the beach pleasure resorts. The safest and most practical garbage disposal for a large city is the reduction process or burning.

The most ancient of scavengers are domestic animals, dogs, chickens, and pigs. On the farm pigs and chickens are regarded as economic assets for the consumption of household wastes. In many Old World cities the hog is still depended upon to consume slops and garbage. The American city has long ago eliminated domestic animals as scavengers, though some cities have permitted garbage to be hauled to piggeries outside their limits. Generally these are privately managed, but some cities have instituted municipal hog farms. Often these are operated in connection with other city institutions, such as work-houses or almshouses.

In 1920, the Streets Committee of the Commerce Club of Toronto, Ohio, sent a questionnaire to sixty-one cities of the 100,000 to 500,000 class, to learn how they disposed of garbage. Of those answering, fifteen fed garbage to hogs, and nineteen expressed themselves as favorable to this method. Seven cities reported burning their garbage, and twelve were using reduction methods. Washington had been feeding hogs but, finding it too expensive, now burns its garbage.

In 1920, the Department of Agriculture issued a Bulletin[8] for smaller cities on feeding garbage to pigs, offering advice on how it might be done. Probably the most advanced method of

garbage disposal is that of reduction. The waste is put through a chemical process which extracts the fats for soaps, or the whole is reduced to a form of fertilizer. However, in no city of the half-million class and over is the reduction of all vegetable and animal refuse possible. The Chamber of Commerce of Brooklyn estimated that the annual quantity of garbage [4] for the five boroughs of New York was 500,000 tons, and that from this amount no less than $3,000,000 worth of grease could be extracted; also that New York disposed yearly of 250,000 tons of rubbish from which $250,000 worth of paper, rags, old bottles, and other material could be garnered. The quantity of rubbish gathered in the average city each year is estimated at about four-tenths of a cubic yard per capita. The cost of moving it is not a small item, as is indicated by the fact that the street-cleaning bill for New York City in 1926 was $21,274,051.09.

In cities of 500,000 and over, a large amount of rubbish is thrown on dumps where junk-men are permitted to sort it over, sometimes having to buy concessions for the privilege. According to the St. Paul Sanitation Committee, thirty-three per cent of the rubbish of a city has value, "and of this salable material eighty per cent is paper, ten per cent rags, five per cent tin cans, three per cent bottles, and two per cent miscellaneous." What to do with the ashes and cinders is no less of a problem. It was estimated that in 1920 New York produced 3,000,000 tons of ashes and cinders, most of which was absolute waste, although there is some demand for cinders for making concrete. In London a group of persons concerned about waste as well as housing tried to interest the city in using its cinders to build houses for the poor, thereby ridding the city of unsightly and antiquated tenements and at the same time finding utility for a by-product of fuel.

Consumption Habits and Waste Disposal

A city does not usually submit to a program for the scientific disposition of its waste until a crisis is reached which makes

action expedient. Increase of population in the whole country and concentration in cities is forcing the issue. Individuals submit to rules and regulations as to the details of their lives only in times of crises. In Germany during the War, for instance, the people were not even permitted to bury a cat or a dog. The Government demanded everything, even the slops from the kitchens. In each community the housewives had dumped their waste into bins by seven in the morning. So thoroughly did the Germans garner waste and convert it into use that the English, who were equally pinched but more fastidious, began to take notice. But the gesture to imitate met with small success. Would the American city-dwellers, with their peculiar bent toward extravagance, submit to a municipal régime of sorting and depositing their waste? The Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce in 1920 proposed a system which if put into force would prove an excellent test:

a. The separation of the forms of waste — garbage, rubbish, and ashes — by the householder and the placing of each in separate receptacles of a type to be determined by ordinance.
b. The separate collection and transportation of this waste in city-owned and -operated vehicles, barges, and scows.
c. The reduction of the garbage either in a city-owned plant, or one privately owned but operated under municipal supervision, the extraction of the grease and fertilizer, and the sale of these valuable by-products.
d. The transfer of the supervision of the collection of dead animals from the Health Department to the Street Cleaning Department, and the disposal of dead animals in the garbage-reduction plant.
e. The sorting of the rubbish on belt conveyers, the salvage and sale of the salable portions, and the burning of the worthless portions in furnaces provided for that purpose.
f. The transportation of the ashes in scows or cars to the city-owned meadows or lowlands to be used as fills.[5]

To interest all the housewives in New York even to attempt to follow such a program would be difficult, yet a similar process will ultimately be instituted. And the discipline goes even further, implying a very fundamental adjustment of the standard of

living of a city if it comes to utilize waste materials. The interesting fact is that to whatever degree wastes have been salvaged, it has not been by the old American stock. Other foreign groups have shared in the process, but the Russian Jew raised the junk business from its scorned status to that of a dignified international *waste trade*. Russian Jews have also established the many branches of the second-hand trade for finding new uses for old things, or sending them back "to the stamping mill" to be made over.

The Business of Salvage

The waste trade, with its dealers in junk, rummage, used furniture, clothes, and almost every conceivable article, is found in deserted parts of the city, in the slums, along the less used trackage sites, canal banks, and the river front where dockage is cheap. Originating as rag-picking, the business now has little use for the rag-picker, although it does utilize some of the meanest labor. Even less of a factor is the small shop junk-man. The trade draws most heavily from the industries in which waste is most important, and every great industry has its waste reclaiming department from which everything of value finds its way back to the market in some form. So dignified has the trade become that the term "junk" is no longer used in connection with it. In fact two daily price-quoting sheets in which waste goods figure prominently circulate throughout the nation. In addition, other publications have waste-trade sections and at least one magazine is devoted exclusively to the subject. Moreover, the trade has become sufficiently organized to possess in the heart of New York a national headquarters for dealers in waste materials.

Although junk centers in the slums, it is not confined there. Wherever commodities wear out and are cast aside, something gravitates through the channels of trade to the junk heap. In the more congested cities, junk cannot always be removed. If the junk-man does not want to buy, it cannot be disposed of unless he can be hired to take it away. In some cities the street-cleaning

department collects bulky waste but only at stated times during the year when clean-up weeks are instituted and everyone is supposed to deposit waste from the basement on the sidewalk or alley.

The junk-man's market is highly specialized. For almost every commodity he handles, whether of low value or high, he sells to a different wholesaler. The bottle dealer, for example, sorts the bottles of all kinds, colors, and shapes which he receives. If a case of catsup bottles from one firm turns up, he tries to sell it back to that firm. According to their brands, a ready market is generally found for the milk bottles from the dairies. Since prohibition, private homes provide a market for large quantities of nondescript bottles.

The market for rags and paper is no less complicated.[6] Here we find business and philanthropy mixing. The Salvation Army, for instance, reports that for the metropolitan New York area for 1927 its industrial workshops shipped 784 tons of rags and 18,473 tons of paper. While this is but a slight fraction of what might be done in an area of nine million souls, it indicates what one agency concentrating its efforts on a specific form of waste can do. In these efforts the Salvation Army is aiming to abolish "the trinity of waste," waste materials, waste man-power, and waste time. It brings the three together to combat unemployment and to establish industry.

Salvage and Social Welfare

If the clothing which goes to the junk-man has any further utility, it is sold to dealers whose business consists in putting it back on the market in its original form. Cleaned and sorted, wearing apparel finds the market at the rummage sales and charity bazaars where the people pick it over often for no other use than to make patches or cleaning rags. The whole rummage sale business is but a stage between the first use and the complete discarding of articles. Often with the poor it is a veiled

form of philanthropy, particularly when it is conducted in connection with welfare agencies. Sometimes the rummage business is international in its scope. For instance, it has been found that Europe is a good market for stocking-uppers and other wearing apparel that is sold in the poor sections of the city.

The old clothes that social agencies such as the Good Will Industries and the Salvation Army gather are frequently too antiquated to be returned to use even in rummage sales. Garments that are out of vogue are not wanted by even the poorest people. For obvious reasons people will accept an old chair that is wired together, but will reject clothes which are not modish. If these institutions are unable to rehabilitate clothes so they will be purchased for wearing apparel, attempts are made to sell such clothes on a lesser market. Clothing becomes old rags and as such are classified into many varieties and grades.

Still considering the social aspects of salvage, we find a more colorful side, especially with reference to clothing. Visit the "New and Old" clothing shops that cluster in some quarters of the city. The stores dealing in men's used clothes have definite seasonal habits. In the spring when men begin to discard their overcoats, these stores advertise and buy them at low prices only to resell them at high prices in the fall. In thus handling used clothing these stores are really utilities in the lives of the homeless men of small means who patronize them. For the women, too, there are second-hand clothing shops (known more politely as "re-sale" shops) where elegant gowns and dresses no longer desired in upper circles, or parted with for need of cash, are to be found.

When clothing has come to the end of its utility as apparel there is the paper market for cotton, but for wool there is always a market as an accessory in manufacturing woolen cloth. Much of the discarded wool of the world goes to Dewsbury, England, which specializes in making it over, and it is a common saying there that wool never wears out though worn on a hundred backs and passed forty times through the machine. Talbott says:

But one of the most powerful expressions of the possibilities attending the scientific utilization of waste, and one which brings home very forcefully to us the national wealth to be won from refuse, is associated with our woolen industry. Where would Yorkshire be without mungo and shoddy? Dewsbury has been the world's center for the disposal of old clothes and woolen rags. Here converge all the streams bearing abandoned flotsam and jetsam into the preparation of which wool is entered. There is scarcely anything more disreputable, if not actually repellent, than a sack of woolen rags. But pass that waste through suitable machines and a wonderful transformation in attractiveness, colouring, and design, as well as texture, is accomplished.[7]

The Second-hand Trade

The same industrial institutions which, in the interest of philanthropy, are carving a niche in the business of salvaging waste are also gathering old furniture. The second-hand furniture store is a good index to the status of a neighborhood. The grade of the furniture shop changes with the status of urban residential sections. As they rise in the economic and social scale, people tend to move from area to area, leaving behind them the old furniture which represents their former level. This furniture often goes back to the dealer who sold it originally, or is given to some industrial welfare agency such as the Good Will Industries or the Salvation Army to be given or sold to the poor. In Thyra Winslow's story, "A Cycle of Manhattan," there is an excellent example of what happens to furniture when people rise socially, moving from areas of less advantage to areas of more advantage; hence, up the economic scale. The family in the story had no less than six homes in as many parts of the city during its climb from the depths of poverty to the pinnacle of exclusiveness. Six times, as the family changed its standard of living, the old furnishings were disposed of to buy furnishings in keeping with its new social position.

In Chicago there are three streets on which second-hand stores flourish, and these streets differ widely. The Cottage Grove Avenue stores carry a high-grade stock with a variety of fine

pieces gathered in from the old South Side homes now being abandoned or remodeled — large beds and other beautiful but bulky articles. Many of the families moving from these spacious homes are retreating to compact apartments where they will need light and elegant furnishings. Yet these articles have utility for which the second-hand dealers are finding a market. On West Madison Street, on the West Side, the stores are stocked with used commercial goods. Here little betrays personal taste or the handiwork of the artist. Connoisseurs who delight in Cottage Grove Avenue find nothing of interest on Madison Street, for here the stores cater to middle-class rooming-house people who move into the neighborhood, furnish two rooms for a hundred dollars or so, and at the end of a few months move away, selling everything. A pretense of style finds expression in leather, plush, and highly ornate articles, brass beds, and red lamp-shades. In the second-hand furniture stores on South State Street also on the South Side and but a half-mile west of Cottage Grove Avenue the type of stock is entirely different, exceedingly shabby and dingy. Little attempt is made to brighten it up. Like the houses in the neighborhood, the furniture is at the last stage before it becomes junk, and the homes are in the direst poverty.

The above statement that furnishings remain in the locality when the owners migrate is not true in every particular. Furniture, having its value in utility, moves from better to worse areas down the scale in the same direction as rummage. Cast off at one social level, it finds lodgment at another. That is really what the Good Will Industries and the Salvation Army are doing: collecting from the better sections and distributing in the poorer. No article is shunted about more than picture frames. Always changing with the mode, they have now all but gone out of style although in some immigrant homes, especially the Italian, the large plaster frames and the wide circular frames with oval glass are still in vogue. Most furnishings which require space out of proportion to their utility (large picture frames, albums and bulky

books, bookcase desks, the corner "what-nots," square pianos, etc.) are a drug on the market.

Whereas utilities tend to drop from one level of use to another, goods of sentimental value move in the opposite direction. Brass candle-sticks and samovars are picked up by the collector on the poor immigrant streets to be sold in the exclusive antique shops at high prices. In poverty, people part with these valuables for which there is a market only higher up in the social scale.

Where furniture remains in a locality, changing hands as people move in and out, only the instability of the population prevents the second-hand trade from becoming virtually a renting business. In European cities, where police registration provides a check on their customers, dealers do rent furniture to transients. But renting can be done only by stores carrying high-grade stock. In the poorer sections, the goods handled are of such meager utility that the second-hand trade verges on the junk trade.

Industrial Waste and Salvage

We have been describing household waste which classification once covered almost every form of waste. Now industrial waste, which is contributing to make the waste trade increasingly more important as well as more complex, overshadows it. Industrial waste includes the residue of manufacture as well as articles worn out in the industrial process. Most corporations have their own salvage departments which deal directly with the wholesale waste dealers. Similar in character is the dismantling, salvaging, or junking of approximately two million automobiles which must be disposed of in the United States each year. One interesting aspect of the auto-wrecking trade is that worn-out cars, much after the fashion of worn-out homeless men, find their way to the salvage establishments of the cities. In Chicago the auto-wrecking business covers several blocks; in Los Angeles it is tremendous, with cast-off cars from every state. Frequently people

motor to California in cars which they expect will last only for the journey, and will then be rebuilt or disposed of for junk.

Almost every type of machine used in modern industrial life has a history like that of the automobile. The machine is installed with approximately one hundred per cent efficiency, the measure of its value being its productivity. Degenerating with wear and tear until compared with new machines its output is lower in quantity, and perhaps in quality, it must eventually be rebuilt or replaced entirely. It may be "turned in" or exchanged for a new machine, or it may in some way find a cheaper market. Most discarded machines go to firms especially equipped to salvage the good parts and junk the rest or rebuild them for some minor use. Just as some people are willing to buy used cars and rebuilt typewriters, others buy used printing presses, boilers, furnaces, lathes, laundry machines, bread mixers, cutting machines, and hundreds of other special machines.

Every modern building means the destruction of some antiquated ones, involving both salvage and waste. The Vanderbilt mansion of Fifth Avenue, New York, which was torn down recently to make way for an office building, typifies a number of elements in the relation between waste, salvage, and city reconstruction. The dwelling was in excellent repair, but as the use it had been built to serve had passed, the space it occupied was worth more for shops and offices. The materials were still valuable but not on Fifth Avenue; the stone fixtures went to a country estate; woodwork, heating equipment, gas and light fixtures came back to the market through the wrecking companies. Being confined to the suburbs and rural sections, or to modernizing old houses in urban areas not included in the building code — in itself a form of salvage — the salvage market is, of course, limited. Frequently, used materials, such as bath fixtures, are used in modernizing old buildings. At one time only a small part of the urban population had the advantage of toilet and bath fixtures, but now even in the slums where the bath-tub was once rare, it is now coming to be considered a necessity.

Queer uses are sometimes made of material that comes from wrecked buildings. With waste from excavations, old brick and stone, as well as cinders, Chicago has extended its lake front as much as half a mile at certain points. The stone from a rather ostentatious residence on the South Side in Chicago was bought up by a monument dealer who made headstones of it. The joists of a variety theatre were used to make fancy furniture. The wood was well-preserved and happened to be of a kind plentiful when the theatre was built, but very scarce when it was torn down. One landscape artist makes a speciality of buying ornamental stones of old buildings for decorating gardens in the country.

Social Implications of Waste

One of the social implications of the waste trade is its intimate association with delinquency, especially juvenile.[8] In the large city, to "go junking" is one of the most lucrative pastimes for boys, offering no end of adventure. To steal lead pipes from a vacant building, brass boxings from a freight-car, or milk bottles from rear porches are money-making tricks challenging the ingenuity of the police. In a study of Junk and Juvenile Delinquency in 1921, the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago found the relationship between the two to be very close. Cities pass various ordinances calculated to curb junk dealers in buying illicit goods; in fact, the burden of proof is usually placed upon the dealer. In some cities the shops may be open only between certain hours regulated by law, making it a purely daylight business. Elsewhere it is forbidden to buy any kind of junk or waste material from minors, and in some cities, by a law which works a special hardship on wholesalers,[9] dealers in waste materials must check and hold for at least forty-eight hours each and every separate article they buy.

The most significant social implication of waste and salvage in any society is that people face it frankly only as they are forced to do so. In a country of many resources there tends to be waste

of all things found in abundance. We have instances of the pioneers in the west treasuring as luxuries such commodities as tea, flour, tobacco, wrought iron, and other articles that were imported at great cost, whereas they would waste with no pangs of conscience a whole half beef. Now at the Union Stockyards in Chicago, even the hair and the offal of the cattle are saved and put on the market in some useful form. Only when want is in prospect or actually present do people bring themselves to seek utility in the things they once discarded, and to resort to the various processes of salvage. It amounts to a forced acceptance of a changed standard of living, usually in the direction of cautious consumption. In nature as well as in human society, the effective invasion of any species or group into the habitat of another is largely conditioned by its ability to live on smaller margins, thus to utilize what once was waste. In this manner populations have been constantly displacing one another in American urban life. In strictly biological terms, this is the real test of survival: to secure the greatest utility and have the least waste in consuming the available supplies.

The maximum of efficiency in consumption, the end which engineers and students of society are striving to attain, would involve no waste at all except as in plant-life, that is, in the change from one form of energy to another. In sociological terms, that would result in a society extremely well organized and disciplined, even mechanically disciplined in its consumption.

Human Waste and Salvage

In an industrial society waste in material things is supplemented by a waste and wearing out of human beings themselves. Human beings are also fixtures, as buildings, machines, streets are in industrial society, and are valued in the same terms as are materials. A person is worth as much as he can produce or earn; in other words, his status is determined by the wealth he controls. These material values are of necessity paramount. In the factory

system, the human being is the competitor of the machine, working with it or beside it, and if another machine can be found to take his place at a smaller cost he is dispensed with.[10]

The exact amount of human waste incident to urban industry is unknown; only rough approximations may be hazarded, but such as are available prove significant. James H. S. Bossard says: "In the ten years up to January 1, 1922, the steam railroads of the country killed, according to statistics that are incomplete, 27,534 employees, and injured 1,527,529. During the same time, 23,987 employees were killed in the coal mines."[11] Conservative estimates place the annual number of deaths due to industrial accident at no less than 25,000; another 25,000 serious permanent disabilities and "some 2,000,000 temporary disabilities of more than three days' duration."[12] In round figures the annual loss in production and wages is about a billion dollars, or about a sixtieth of the total annual productiveness of the nation. What this means in social terms cannot even be estimated because the whole industrial society ties into the productive process and no injury or death concerns individuals alone. Fatalities and disabilities redound to the inconvenience and often to the breakdown of family units. This brings us face to face with the whole problem of workers' security and industrial safety, or the prevention of human waste. Supplementing this is the problem of human salvage, what the Salvation Army has in mind in its slogan: "Fight the trinity of waste — waste materials, waste men and waste time."

The same industrial society that breaks and destroys workers wears them out prematurely. We had in 1920 in the United States 4,933,215 persons over the age of sixty-five. This is four and seven-tenths per cent of the total population without place in an industrial society. Approximately half a million of this age group are cared for in almshouses, institutions, and homes for the aged.[13] Directly as the aged depend upon manual labor as a source of income they find themselves off the labor market once they reach the sixties, unless they have had the opportunity or

the foresight to have provided for themselves. Rarely is this the case; rarely is it possible. Thus age finds such persons unprovided for. This is part of the social pathology of the city. It is rarely found in rural or primitive societies. This inability of modern industrial society to utilize its handicapped and aged is really an indictment of its boasted efficiency. It is waste as much as is the material residue attending consumption.

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. As a result of the publication of Thorstein Veblen's books (*Theory of the Leisure Class*, *The Instinct of Workmanship*, and *The State of the Industrial Arts*) several phrases pertinent to the discussion of waste were brought into currency. Among those phrases were the following: (a) "predatory culture," (b) "conspicuous expenditure," and (c) "invidious comparison." Discuss these terms, especially the second, in terms of urban waste.

2. Discuss the following statement credited to George Bernard Shaw: "Mankind is the only animal which esteems itself rich according to the number and voracity of its parasites."

3. Tabulate the most conspicuous commodities of waste in urban life and thereupon formulate plans for eliminating or salvaging.

4. Laymen and specialists frequently contend that much of the city's waste in commodities and also much of the consumer's price might be decreased by the organization of consumers' and producers' coöperative societies. Consumers' coöperative societies have flourished in European countries, but the movement develops slowly in the United States. Discuss both the theory of coöperatives and the reasons for slower growth in this country.

5. If there are producers' or consumers' coöperative societies in the locality, study these with a view of determining how much waste they have eliminated.

6. When war arrives and many productive human units are occupied in destruction, the problem of waste rises to the surface. Discuss the program of waste-elimination utilized during the War of 1914–1918.

7. In many European cities the sewage is utilized for purposes of land-fertilization. Why is this not done in the United States?

8. The city of Chicago cannot discharge its sewage into Lake Michigan because this body of water furnishes its drinking-water. In

consequence, its sewage goes into the tributaries of the Mississippi; this procedure is now being protested; what alternatives might be employed?

9. Why is it economical in some cases to burn garbage in an incinerator rather than feed it to hogs?

10. Expenditure for luxuries as well as waste are often defended on the ground that both provide employment for people who would otherwise be unemployed. Discuss this hypothesis.

11. Certain areas of cities tend to become "junk heaps"; they might be called the junk areas. Frequently these areas correspond with the slums or with railroad occupation of space. Is it also true that such areas produce a higher rate of delinquency?

12. Why do some cities require dealers in junk, second-hand stores, and pawnshops to register their sales with the police?

13. It is frequently contended that much waste results from the "ca'canny" policy of organized trade union workers. Does the trade union contribute to waste and inefficiency? If this is true, how does it happen that over-production arrives in regular cycles?

14. Idealists often claim that a decently organized society could eliminate all philanthropic and charitable effort. This theory is based upon the assumption that most cases of human waste may be traced to economic causes. Is this a correct hypothesis?

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. *Some Facts about Margins and Costs in Marketing Fruits and Vegetables in the Port of New York District*, Port of New York Authority, W. P. Hedden (New York, 1925).
2. James C. Young, *New York Times*, 3–13–27, xx–5.
3. Farmers Bulletin, No. 1133, U. S. Department of Agriculture.
4. *Need of a Comprehensive System for the Collection and Disposal of Municipal Waste in New York City*, Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, 1920.
5. Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce Report, p. 8.
6. *New York Times*, Jan. 1, 1928. A news article on attempts being made in Paris to abolish the "Flea Market," a place where junk and rag pickers have gathered for centuries to sell reclaimed articles.
7. F. A. Talbott, *Millions in Waste*, p. 18 (London, 1919). Also H. J. Spooner, *Wealth from Waste* (London, 1918). Both books

were written under the spell of the War. The Talbott book is probably the more significant for sociologists.

8. *The Gang*, Frederick Thrasher (Chicago, 1927). The study by the Juvenile Protective Society (Hull House, Chicago) was not exhaustive but is none the less indicative.
9. For the technical side of waste disposal see *Municipal House Cleaning*, W. P. Capes and J. D. Carpenter (New York, 1918). For bibliography of sewage, garbage and waste, see *Readings in Urban Sociology*, Scott E. W. Bedford (New York, 1927), pp. 439–441. Most available readings deal with the economic or technical aspects of waste and salvage, though most of them are sociological by implication.
10. For the social side of the problem see any book on social pathology. *Social Adjustment*, R. C. Dexter (New York, 1927), is suggested. Also see chapter on "Waste" in *Practice of Municipal Administration*, Lent D. Upson (New York, 1926). Also consider *The Tragedy of Waste*, Stuart Chase (New York, 1925). *New York Times* for 12–5–26, xx–4, carries an article by Stuart Chase showing how the "War on Waste Touches All Phases of Life."
11. Problems of Social Well-Being, James H. S. Bossard (New York, 1927), p. 298.
12. *Workmens Compensation*, E. H. Downey, (New York, 1924), p. 1.
13. *Social Adjustment*, p. 159.

VII

TRANSPORTATION AND MOBILITY

Man's Increasing Mobility

By nature man is no more mobile than other animals, but being put to it by the struggle for existence he has always been as transient as the state of the arts has permitted. His resourcefulness, greater than that of other animals, has given him an advantage in both rate and range of movement. There has always been a direct relationship between his mobility, his facilities for transportation, and the nature of his communal life. Never was man more mobile and never were transportation facilities better than now. Actually, in our American cities the rate of movement is increasing faster than the rate of population. Whitten observes:

> In Newark, N. J., during the period 1912–1915, traffic increased three times as rapidly as the population. In Brooklyn during the period 1914–1918, based on accounts of three typical streets, traffic increased six and two-tenths times as fast as the population. In London during the period 1911–1914, traffic increased six and four-tenths times as fast as the population. In Buffalo during the period 1909–1916, based on counts at eight intersections, traffic increased seven times as fast as the population. In St. Louis during the period 1913–1917, traffic increased eight and seven-tenths times as fast as the population.[1]

Factors other than the automobile and good roads must be considered, just as other than engineering problems emerge from the situation. To utilize streets to the maximum with the least friction is particularly an engineering problem. Traffic is increasing yearly in speed and volume. In 1860, the New Yorker averaged yearly 43 rides in a public conveyance; in 1890, 220; in 1924, 450.[2] The annual rides per capita on the elevated and surface

lines of Chicago have likewise mounted: 164 in 1890; 215 in 1900; 320 in 1910; and 338 in 1921.[3] London's population increased from 6,661,000 in 1902 to 7,573,465 in 1922 while the annual per capita rides on public conveyances increased from 166 to 386. While the population increased about fourteen per cent the "journeys per head" more than doubled. In 1900, the railroads of the United States carried 576,831,251 passengers, and in 1925, the number increased to 902,155,069, an increase of approximately sixty per cent. During the same period, the length of the average ride increased from twenty-seven and six-tenths miles to thirty-three and two-tenths in 1910; thirty-seven and three-tenths in 1920; forty miles in 1925. Suburban transportation has increased equally rapidly. The report of the Transit Commission of New York for 1926 shows a total of 350,000,000 passengers using the ferries and railroads, of whom 261,972,573 are estimated as commuters. The daily commuter traffic is estimated at 385,253, and trips of visitors daily at 129,303. Passengers carried on railroads numbered 248,138,573, an increase of 6,238,077 over those carried in 1925.[4]

Congestion at the City Center

As the means of transportation have improved, and metropolitan economy has been established, the ancient custom of going to market has finally evolved into this tremendous mobility, circulation within the city and movement to and fro. The city still remains the market, but the range and number of its marketing contacts have become infinitely wider and greater, serving all but the most isolated. If people do not come to it in person, they have by mail, express, freight, or other means some direct contact with it. Between one-fourth and one-third of the population of most large cities and their suburbs find it necessary or convenient to "go to town" every day. A traffic count for Boston taken July 1, 1926, between 8 A.M. and 6 P.M. showed the following flow in and out of the downtown district:

Street railways	659,948
Automobiles (1.8 persons to the car)	196,871
Railroads	161,269
Ferries and boats	16,500
Total	1,034,588 [5]

Dividing the above total in half, we may assume that 517,294 persons, or about one-third of the 1,772,254 inhabitants of the metropolitan area, represents the approximate number visiting the downtown quarter of Boston during the day.

The situation is proportionately intensified in New York. According to the Regional Plan studies, the daylight population of the region below Fifty-ninth Street totals 2,941,700, of whom all but 982,000 must be transported in every morning and out every night.[6] Approximately 680,000 must be carried to work between eight and nine in the morning, and fully half a million from work between five and five-thirty in the afternoon. Thus this area, no larger than a good-sized western ranch, is visited daily by more people than the combined populations of any five intermountain states. Graphically the movement of these crowds from the periphery to important points at the center can be illustrated by the wheel diagram used by the City Club of New York. Radiating from Manhattan as the hub, the spokes were respectively (beginning at Morristown, New Jersey, on the west and moving clockwise around the circle) Englewood, Yonkers, Bronx, Mt. Vernon, Flushing, Jamaica, Flatbush, Coney Island, Staten Island, Elizabeth, and Newark. The purpose of the diagram was to show that much of the congestion on lower Manhattan is due to the fact that the spokes are not bound together by outer rims or belts. All the points on the radii are conveniently accessible to one another only by way of Manhattan. Accompanying this diagram was the outline of a spider's web — the lines also radiating from a central point, but with many cross lines — entitled, "The Spider Does it Better."[7] In other words, the strength of the city as a central market lies in its being the hub of a rimless wheel.

Markets develop where roads intersect, and up to a certain point congestion means trade.

Automobiles and Traffic Volume

The automobile has greatly facilitated the widening range of the urban market, but coming into a city physically constructed for horse-drawn traffic, it has met with difficulties. In spite of all the devices to regulate traffic by speeding and segregation, the streets at the centers of cities are still too crowded for convenience, and some municipal engineers seriously consider excluding automobiles from certain congested streets, at least during the rush hours.

A massing of goods accompanies this concentration of population. Certain of the most congested parts of the city could operate, perhaps even to advantage, without passenger automobiles but no section can exclude the truck. Supplies have to be brought in, waste and finished goods must go out. As pleasure cars monopolize the boulevards, so carrying trucks monopolize the side streets. In 1926, 4,808 vessels docked at the Port of New York, bringing in 19,703,804 tons, and 4,930 cleared, carrying away 20,185,804 tons. What proportion of this is handled by truck can only be guessed, but if it amounted merely to ten per cent, it would make an appreciable demand upon street space. In 1914, the date of the last extensive survey, New York interchanged 12,927,599 tons of railroad freight; of the 51,713,344 tons billed to New York, 10,413,797 were forwarded elsewhere either in some other form or after dividing their bulk, leaving 40,299,547 tons for New York consumption. The estimated per capita consumption for New York in 1914 was five and six-tenths tons, consisting of:

Grain products	7.8%
Other foodstuffs	8.3
Fuel and ore	61.3
Building materials	7.7
Miscellaneous	14.9
Total	100.0%

Every modern city has this problem of bulk to meet and as it increases in size, as the problem intensifies, the cost of transportation goes up. It costs to operate a five-ton truck in the streets of Manhattan from nineteen dollars to twenty-eight dollars and fifty-six cents a day. Because of congestion these trucks are idle from twenty per cent to seventy-five per cent of the time. This congestion is a measure of the demand being made upon the city as a market and as a center of industry. The carrying cost of goods determines the nearness an industry or market, according to the bulk of its truckage, can afford to achieve to the heart of the city.[8] But no demand for the market can ignore the city. It must wedge in somewhere, adding its bit to the transportation problem. The modern city becomes a dispersion of special markets, bazaars, and points of distribution.[9]

Market Areas and the Competition for Location

As a market the modern city is an aggregate or system of service units. As these functions and special services become identified with points in space, the market in physical terms becomes a grouping of trade centers which tend to draw farther apart as the city increases in size. In the small city all may be on a single block; in the larger city they spread over many blocks, some monopolizing a number of blocks, as does the clothing trade in New York, the entertainment business along Broadway, or the automobile business in any large city. In the small city, banks remain on the principal corners, but in New York or Chicago they take over the highest-priced areas. The wholesale food market in Chicago occupies a single street two miles long. Paris has one food market, Les Halles — really a cluster of markets at the heart of the city. Seven specialized food markets are scattered through different parts of London: vegetables, fruits, meat, fish, etc. New York has six food markets in Manhattan and the Bronx only. The food market in the modern city indicates what the entire market was like in the early city. The other parts of the

former market, if they exist at all, are located either near the food market, in some consistent relation to traffic and other functions to which they may be allied, or as rents and land values or maintenance costs may determine.

In its economic implications, the problem of transportation involves a study of costs, rents, and land values, and the relation between them may be illustrated in any average city. Mobility, considered with special reference to the movement of people, tends in its social implications to be both cause and effect of changing land values. In the large city, where land is held not for its crop-bearing value but for its location, its site with reference to the circulation of population determines its worth. Where lines of traffic intersect and the maximum number of people pass daily, space is most valuable. For business purposes space is sought at the points of greatest concentration. The corner is usually the most valuable and is generally occupied by the business able to carry on most trade in a minimum of space.[10] Towns commonly have two main streets toward the intersection of which all types of business concentrate. This puts a premium on the construction of high buildings. The less profitable businesses are gradually crowded out to the back streets as the town grows, and strategic points of secondary magnitude[11] are formed by various types of business.

However the numerous occupations distribute themselves through the city, some consistent relationship tends to exist between the type and the value of the site. Spacious stores selling bulky goods are most likely to occupy the center of the block. To survive in a central business district, such as the " Loop," a furniture store must either deal in antiques or imported goods, or in some other manner handle expensive goods. The real furniture center of Chicago is several miles from the heart of the city. Apparently the higher the value of the site, the more compact and lucrative must be the business that occupies it. On the other hand, the more space a business needs, the more readily will it retreat to the sites of lesser value, compensating for the disad-

vantage of location by the advantage of being as near as possible to other concerns of the same kind.[12]

Land Values and Urban Shiftings

In a growing city, land values tend constantly to rise, the relationship between them and the increasing movement of the population in and out of the points of concentration being constant. A business which located at a certain point because the rent was low finds that the increasing demand for space increases the rent, and that it must therefore yield to some other type of occupant. The displaced business shifts its center to a cheaper location, perhaps pushing out some poorer concern. The ultimate occupant seems to be the bank.

The moving in and the crowding out of occupants as land values change affects every type, but is most significant sociologically as it relates to residential occupation. In the residential areas, the turnover of population is great. Although apparently and immediately social, it is fundamentally and ultimately a matter of changing land values. As people crowd each other out, and wave after wave of population occupies a given area, the value of the site drops socially. The location for residential purposes may be in disrepute, the houses uninhabitable and drawing diminishing rent, and at the same time the actual land value may be rising. In such cases, the space is ultimately taken over by business or industry; that is, it is adapted to some use that will yield a reasonable return on the investment. Sometimes an area enters a new cycle of residential occupation. An instance is the encroachment of the Park Avenue area of residential exclusiveness upon the region immediately to the east. Here the decadent walk-up, cold-water flats are being replaced by modern and ultramodern apartments. The nearer these new apartment buildings are to Park Avenue, the more exclusive they become. In any case, as new buildings are erected, the former inhabitants must move, to be replaced by a new population of a different standard of

living. In general, as business and other occupants require more space, people leave the central areas. The population of New York increased seventeen and nine-tenths per cent between 1910 and 1920, but the populous Borough of Manhattan increased but two per cent.[13] During the same period some of the residential wards of Chicago lost a third of their population.[14]

Transportation and City-planning

Transportation *per se* is not the problem of the sociologist but of the engineer. Incidental to its marketing function, a certain number of people must enter and leave the city each day. How to transport them in and out with the greatest speed and comfort and at the minimum cost; how to time and route the traffic so as to avoid friction; how to bring supplies in and carry waste out — these are problems in municipal engineering. The crowd is of a certain size and there is a definite street capacity; it is the engineer's task to establish the proper balance between the two; to devise ways of using the facilities of the city to the maximum and at the same time of eliminating congestion.

The engineer's answer is city planning: cutting more and wider streets and limiting the height of buildings. But the more the roads are opened up, the more voluminous becomes the traffic and the higher rise the buildings. Los Angeles, with plenty of street space, has become pathological in the ownership of automobiles — a large factor in making it the transient, bubbling, chaotic city which Bruce Bliven describes:

> The other great fact about Los Angeles is that it is now a completely motorized civilization. Nowhere else in the world have human beings so thoroughly adapted themselves to the automobile. The advertisers' ideal, two cars to the family, has very nearly been attained, not merely among the rich, but on the average. The number of licensed drivers is just about equal to the adult population, and all the children above the age of ten are bootleg chauffeurs. Any Angeleno without his automobile is marooned, like a cowboy without his horse, and cannot stir from the spot until it has been restored to him. The highest form of popular art

is found in the decoration of filling stations; one tours them as one does the château country of France.[15]

But the estimated population of Los Angeles is more than a million spread over 400 square miles while New York, with 5,620,048 population, covers but 299 square miles, and Manhattan, the heart of New York, with 2,284,103 people, but 22 square miles.

"Stagger Plan" and Decentralization

Two other approaches to a solution of the transportation problem are the "stagger plan," now being experimented with in New York, and decentralization. The stagger plan is a method of relieving the peaks of daily congestion, whereby certain large firms shift the working hours; that is, arrange to have different groups of their employees arrive and depart at fifteen minute intervals, instead of having them all start work at, e.g., eight o'clock and stop at five. This would even the demands upon the transportation system.[16] Decentralization would disperse the attractions that bring the crowds together. If it is found that too many department stores around Herald Square in New York, or in the "Loop" of Chicago, or in the "Golden Triangle" of Pittsburgh, bring too many people to one center, no more department stores will be permitted to locate there. If the concentration of theatres results in congestion during certain hours, some method will be resorted to for dispersing them throughout the city. Such a proposal ignores the fact that incidental to the struggle for survival in urban economic organization, these special interests are driven into compact units where often they become systems of specialized but coöperative functions. If these compact units as segments of the urban market cater to wants in which there is a wide range of choice, as in the dress business, they need to be in close proximity. This necessity is obviated in the case of standardized goods which find a market in the chain stores. To decentralize the fashion center in New York would devitalize the whole industry, unless its output became as standardized as army uniforms. In that case,

the decentralization would take place of its own accord, because the day-to-day struggle to put something new on the market would be eliminated.

An interesting commentary upon the proposal to solve the transportation problem by a regulated decentralization is found in Chicago. At one time the leading department stores were at the heart of the city. Now the tendency is for department stores to locate at strategic points some distance out in the residential areas. In like manner at strategic points from the center of the city (from four to eight miles) a number of recreational centers are being established. This may be due to the absence of subway lines. These secondary centers, like the outlying department stores, are well patronized, but they deal in standardized services (the movie, vaudeville, the dance) or in standardized commodities. The legitimate stage is still concentrated in the "Loop" and for the goods in which choice is wide, people still go to the central department stores and shops.[17]

We may say that the city as a market is affected by two opposing tendencies in production: standardization, which obviates the necessity of going to town to shop, and specialization, which leaves no other recourse than to shop in town. The first tendency makes for decentralization; the second leads to concentration and congestion. Dr. Raymond Unwin, Chief Architect to the British Minister of Health, in a discussion of Methods of Decentralization, recently said:

> So long as the advantages of a large city, whether commercial or cultural, could only be enjoyed by those on the spot, there was some excuse for crowding to be near the center. Today the peasant on the farm can hear the president's voice as well as if he were at the back of the hall; tomorrow he will watch his face while speaking. Yesterday the manufacturers needed to be close to the source of power, and the workmen to crowd around them. Today the power can be taken hundreds of miles to the factory, and tomorrow the workman will be able, if he wishes, to live on his farm and go by electric train or motor to his work at any factory within twenty or thirty miles. These new facilities

while at present adding to the congestion, are all increasing our power to cope with the difficulty of the great town.[18]

Some students of this problem of the concentration of urban population are enthusiastic about the prospects of relief through giant power. "Steam," they say, "makes the slums; electricity can replace them with garden cities."[19] Steam made it necessary for the workers to hover together around the factory; electricity permits the factory to locate anywhere. Not only will small industries be able to escape congestion and its attendant high land values, but with electrical power cheaply transmitted, large industries can break up into smaller, more convenient units.

The automobile, until now a serious problem in the transportation difficulty, will greatly facilitate such decentralization. In its new rôle, the automobile promises to become the principal agent to connect the city with its suburbs and the suburbs with one another. It is permitting certain functions of the city, such as warehouses, stockyards, wholesale markets, etc., to locate far in the periphery. For metropolitan freight traffic, the auto truck is becoming the chief conveyance. Douglass found in St. Louis that due to the efficiency of auto trucks, sixty-two and five-tenths per cent of light manufacturing was being carried on without rail connections.[20]

City Time Adjustments

Adjustments to the transportation problem, whether through purposive manipulation or naturally through the processes of change, are sociologically significant. The fact that at night food is distributed to the retailers, and at the same time the streets are cleaned of refuse, has a sociological as well as a technical meaning. It is a time adjustment, in contradistinction to a place adjustment, to the transportation problem. One department store in New York has started the experiment of making deliveries of bulk freight at night, and maintains that the added cost of an extra night force is balanced by the economy in time. The place

adjustment is characterized by the process of decentralization; the time adjustment is characterized by a time distribution, and by the ordering of one's life to gear into the movements about one with the minimum of friction and the maximum of comfort. Movements are timed with reference to the pressures and strains that impinge upon an individual. As his interests determine or permit, he, in common with all the other inhabitants of the city, utilizes the urban resources and facilities. Consequently the population breaks up into motile aggregates moving rhythmically past one another in their daily and hourly activities. This is well shown in the different classes which use the transit lines from hour to hour. In his novel of New York, *East Side, West Side*, Felix Riesenberg makes this picturesque comment upon the changing nature of the riding crowd:

> The earliest, from six to eight, consisting of the workers in the lower tier of the commercial structure, the factory hands, store workers, and handlers of tools and materials, male and female, bound to the acres of lofts crowded with machines, the miles of aisles and counters; putty-faced men; undersized, over-dressed women, many wearing short skirts and satin slippers.
>
> Then follow the greater rush of office men and women, the unorganized army of the city, the white-collar men, the silk-stocking women, drawing less pay than bricklayers, cooks or riveters, more refined than truckdrivers, washerwomen, or plasterers. . . . This was the city's densest rush preceding the more leisurely crowd of office managers, department heads, secretaries to the great, who themselves make no appearance until a late hour. The third wave was followed by the down tide of shoppers and gadders flowing daily from the apartment warrens to the lower reaches of the city, the great stores, the restaurants, the shows. Fussy women growing old every day in spite of hours of massage and ointment rubbing in sterile apartments, following the departure of their lords to the great business of the day. A half million cats and dogs were locked up after the morning walk along the curb and the leisure ones moved out for their own diversion.[21]

Here the author stops, but the crowd goes on by waves until midnight. Shopping and matinees end a little before five. Then comes the stampede home from work, ending about six.

The night workers begin now to find their way into the center of the city: watchmen, scrubwomen, and other indispensables. After eight, the diners-out and pleasure-seekers begin to appear and occupy the city during the white-light hours until midnight, yielding in turn to the late revelers and others of the red-light segment of urban life. Later the night workers start home, the last stragglers of their group meeting the early risers among the day laborers. This segregation in point of time, for all its high peaks, is a form of staggering and tends toward a natural abatement of the transportation problem.

Mobility and *Wanderlust*

The sociological implications of transportation are studied and described in terms of mobility, which is not movement alone but movement plus some human connotation. Mobility involves contacts and responses leading to some spatial adjustment. As something without impinges upon a person, he is stimulated, and in response moves from one point to another; perhaps from a point of less advantage to one of greater advantage. Endowed as he is with imagination, he is able in response to stimuli to project himself into an hypothetical situation which by comparison is more or less advantageous than the present one, and, accordingly, he responds. In biological terms, there is no evidence of any inner urge, no *Wanderlust,* prompting him to move on indefinitely just for the joy of motion. Unless attracted or impelled by outside stimuli, men generally remain in a fixed location, in the same line of conduct and the same manner of thinking. In such a static situation with the minimum of stimulation, there is a corresponding minimum of mobility and change. In some of its stages society does approach such a changeless level.

But of modern life, the essence is mobility, and the more we study mobility the more meaningful the changing phenomena about us become. Lewis Wirth, in his *Bibliography of the Urban Community,* writes:

The mobility of a city population incidental to city growth is reflected in the increased number of contacts, changes of movement, changes in appearance and atmosphere of specific areas due to succession of population groups, and in differences in land values. Mobility implies not mere movement but fresh stimulation, an increase in number and intensity of stimulants, and a tendency to respond more readily to new stimulation. The process by which the city absorbs and incorporates its own offspring or foreign elements into its life, and what becomes of them, may be referred to as the metabolism of city life. Mobility is an index of metabolism.[22]

The Abode and the Road

Further examination of the concept of mobility calls for a distinction between the mobility of the person and of the abode. The movements of the person may be classed as the daily going and coming to work, to shop, and to pleasure; the over-night absences from one's abode and the extended absences to another community. In all of these, the person retains a fixed relation to some location which will vary in intensity inversely with the extent of his mobility. Detached for shorter or longer absences, he is occupied in making other adjustments elsewhere. His abode, instead of being the only base from which he radiates, becomes but one of those bases or habit centers. Like the railroad engineer who sleeps every other night away from home, he transfers part of the function of the abode to other points. It is possible for him to express one side of his personality in one set of circumstances and other sides under utterly unlike conditions.

The mobility of the individual tends to detach him from the abode and the community; the movement of the abode amounts to a complete detachment. By severing his relations with his family, the individual thereby changes his abode. In moving its abode, the family thereby severs relations with the community. In the large city, however, the migration of groups of families is in essence the migration of the neighborhood. This is what happens when numbers of families from the same locality in the Old World establish themselves on a single city block in the New

World. They may cling together as a group for a generation or more, migrating every decade from less desirable to more desirable quarters.

Mobility within the city or between cities is frequently but supplementary to mobility between the city and its hinterland. Ravenstein in 1885 in the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society suggested that this form of mobility followed certain laws. A city disturbs the population of the outlying regions in direct proportion to its size and influence. Also the area of its influence is determined by the range of its interests. People living near the city are more mobile than those remotely situated. However, Ravenstein found that in England town people migrated less than country people and women migrated more than men. While this may not be true in American cities, his statement that "each main current of migration produces a compensatory counter-current" seems to apply.

However they may find expression, these forms of mobility are the intrinsic social resultants of the movement of goods[28] and of people who follow the road, because the road is the eternal escape from a situation of less advantage to one of more advantage. The road leads to the city, the center of congestion and stimulation. An example of the rôle of the road is found in communities *A* and *B* in Chicago. *A* was a poor and congested foreign community; *B*, four miles to the west, a middle-class residential community. A car-line was constructed on the street connecting the two. The people in community *B* protested, but other influences prevailed, and the line was built. People from community *A* began to shift their homes westward along the traffic street toward the more desirable community *B*. As fast as they approached, community *B* was evacuated until finally it was completely populated by the former occupants of community *A*. In this instance, the road leads from the center of congestion toward the more spacious periphery. Studies of population movements made by the University of Chicago show that in the main the mobility of abodes and groups follows the lines of transportation.

This of course is the principle upon which real-estate developments are promoted. First the water-mains, the sewers, and the streets are put in readiness, then the population follows.

Every change in the form of communication or lines of transportation is a stimulus for some behavior adjustment on the part of the person and the group. In the midst of such changing scenes the city-dweller lives. His fixed relations are few and slight, his transient relations many and tense. The fixed relations insure stability of purpose, responsibility in conduct, and purposeful orientation. The transient relations stimulate restlessness, purposeless movement, and irresponsible conduct.

The abode tends, then, to be the symbol of stability in the life of the individual, and the road becomes the symbol of mobility or transiency. In the one, he has a fixed sustaining relation, and in the other he is beset by change and disorganization. The more a community or any point in a community is accessible to the lines of movement, the more stimulated and mobile is its population and the more difficult it is for the abode to protect itself against the invasion of outside stimulation. For this reason, the most mobile centers of the city are the points most easily invaded by the stranger. High mobility has replaced the community interest with one of anonymity.

Mobility and Social Organization

Students of society relate mobility to personal and social disorganization. When the strains of movement and over-stimulation bring about change faster than the organism or the group can adapt itself, demoralization follows. The hobo tends to be such a disorganized person, circulating without control or objective in the chaotic cosmopolitan milieu. According to Park:

> The hobo, who begins his career by breaking the local ties that bound him to his family and his neighborhood, has ended by breaking all other associations. He is not only a "homeless man," but a man without a cause and without a country.[24]

As a psychic concomittant of physical mobility, a transient-mindedness results, such as Bliven describes in his article on Los Angeles, already quoted:

> A great proportion of the male population has no other real interest in life than motor machinery. Bridge and golf mean a little something; but mention air cooling, or valves-in-head, and behold the sudden warm expression! It is like seeing an upper-class Englishman turn into a Neapolitan before your eyes. . . . They are big, these new-crop California Americans; they are broad-shouldered, silent, sun-burned, and the females would be heart-shakingly beautiful if they would stop painting their faces in metallic orange hues. They swim, play tennis, and worship motors with quiet fanaticism, their devotional ceremonies being conducted at sixty miles an hour over boulevards surpassingly smooth.

This may have something to do with the prevalence of the conglomeration of sects and movements which exists in Los Angeles. Such free mobility tends to break down culture patterns and weaken the normal restraints, bringing chaos and "lost souls." The primary inner controls that characterize the neighborhood and the family have disappeared. For kinship control, a secondary civil control has been substituted, and the burden of guidance has been partly delegated to public servants — the teacher, the social worker, the minister, and the policeman.

Mobility breaks without compromise the basic fixed relations upon which culture is built. Movement is speeded but interest is concentrated. Although the city-dweller's perspective is widened, his function is narrowed. Identified with the whole metropolitan area, he is intimately related to only a tiny segment or to scattered, unrelated segments within it. By mobility the functions of his own daily routine are both specialized and spatially separated.

Social Space and Mobility

As used in this chapter, the term mobility refers particularly to movement through geometrical space, but it is

acquiring a specialized meaning in another connection. By it Sorokin indicates movement through social space in which social status is involved.[25] Society, he finds, is highly stratified, and people tend to become oriented to each other without more than secondary reference to their geometric orientation. On these planes of social space there is what he calls "horizontal mobility" or circulation and also considerable vertical shifting, that is, movement upward from a lower to a higher social plane or from a higher plane downward.

The significance of social mobility lies in the fact that, except in rare instances, it leads to conflict. Horizontal mobility is less disturbing than vertical only because it constitutes circulation within a homogeneous group having a single and uniform universe of discourse. In India, where the caste system prevails, it is a social offense to eat with, marry, or otherwise associate with persons outside one's own caste. Each caste tends to be a world in itself. The social strata in the American city are not so clearly defined, but they are so well recognized that pathological consequences follow when circulation goes on between them beyond the milieu of the "melting pot" on each level. The comic strip, "Bringing up Father," shows a family of Irish extraction and back-alley traditions trying to climb into select circles. The artist finds endless situations, which might well not be fictitious, in which the culture traits of one social level contrast humorously with those of another level. Each social level has its appropriate graces, and while corn-beef and cabbage may be the *pièce de résistance* of one class, it is banned as plebeian from the tables of another class.

Circulation in the realm of social space is in the main only the subjective side of circulation in geometric space. A foreign family, becoming suddenly rich, buys a home on the most exclusive street of the city — in itself a gesture toward entering the social set living on that street. The new family then proceeds to adopt the externals of the culture of the street. They buy a car, employ a chauffeur, invest in diamonds, furs, and a box at

the opera. Sometimes this is a successful entering wedge to the inner circles, but frequently it fails, for the social set tries to protect itself by an institution known as the social register.

In the modern city where social mobility is great and social classes are not permanent, no class is secure against invasion from farther down the social or economic scale (the two probably form a single scale). As the top tends to "waste" away, there is a constant upward movement. Mobility in socio-psychological terms, as analyzed above, is probably non-existent where mobility is slight.

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Study the rates of population and transportation increase in several nearby cities, attempting to trace correlations wherever possible. For example, analyze the increase in expenditure for roads, pavements, etc., the use of motor buses, as related to improved roads and pavements, etc.

2. Classify the motives or objects which induce you to travel to the center of the city, and also those which may be satisfied without leaving your area of residence. Which of these two lists is likely to increase and which decrease in size?

3. What factors are involved in the location of a city market? Should these locations be changed as population moves?

4. Analyze the central business district of some large city. By a process of selection, involving cost of space and other factors, certain enterprises have moved away from the center while others have moved toward it; how may this be explained?

5. What is the solution for the so-called "traffic dilemma," meaning thereby the situation created when a new line of transportation — such as a new subway — is built to take care of congestion, and along the line of the new subway new buildings quickly rise, thus creating a new congestion?

6. Decentralization is a lively theme among municipal engineers. For a brief discussion, with notes for further reading see article by Jacob L. Crane, Jr., of Chicago, published in *The Annals of the Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Science*, September 1927. The number is devoted to "Planning for City Traffic."

7. To what extent may we consider the distribution over the day

of passenger traffic according to type as a form of natural economy resulting in relief to the strain of rush hours? How does it differ from the proposal to "stagger" the traffic cited in this chapter?

8. A new means of transportation, such as a bridge or a tunnel, frequently brings about sudden and radical changes in population flow and occupational areas. In this connection, study the effect of the Williamsburg Bridge connecting the East Side of Manhattan with Brooklyn; the Camden Bridge connecting Philadelphia with Camden, New Jersey; the vehicular tunnel, connecting New York City and Jersey City (see article in *The New York Times*, 12/18/27, Section 12, "Dormant Sections Revived by New Vehicular Tunnel"); and the Bear Mountain Bridge across the Hudson River, connecting upper Manhattan with Bergen County, New Jersey.

9. Discuss the following: "The transiency of the hobo is an imperative necessity to the economic stability of the nation."

10. In his discussion of the channels or avenues of transition from one social class to another, Sorokin names the church, the school, political and governmental organizations, wealth-making organizations, and the family. Discuss these means of social mobility in terms of urban and rural aristocracies. Also, discuss Sorokin's concept of the social pyramid, and attempt to classify a known city according to its stratifications or levels.

11. In his article "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *Amer. Jour. Soc.*, May, 1928, R. E. Park writes: "Migration as a social phenomenon must be studied not merely in its grosser effects, as manifested in changes in custom and in the mores, but it may be envisioned in its subjective aspects as manifested in the changed type of personality which it produces. When the traditional organization of society breaks down, as a result of contact and collision with a new invading culture, the effect is, so to speak, to emancipate the 'individual man.'" Illustrate.

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. See "Uncorking our Congested Streets," *American City Magazine;* 23 (1920): 352–4.
2. News reports released by the New York Transit Commission.
3. See Report of the *Chicago Subway and Traction Commission*, p. 8; also Report on a *Physical Plan for a Unified Transportation System*, p. 391. Cited in *The City*, by E. W. Burgess, p. 60.
4. Summary of report, *New York Times*, April 10, 1927: II–1.
5. See *American City Magazine, December*, 1926, p. 850.

6. *Report of Highway Traffic in New York and its Environs*, H. M. Lewis; Regional Plan for New York and its Environs, 1925. Also see reports on progress of this study in the *Survey*, May 20, 1922; March 15, 1923; May 15 and June 15, 1924; and *Survey Graphic*, May, 1925.
7. Bulletin of the City Club of New York, Vol. 19: No. 1, Jan., 1927.
8. See *The Transit and Transportation Problem*, N. P. Lewis, Regional Plan of New York and its Environs, 1925, p. 165.
9. *Human Geography*, Jean Bruhnes (Chicago, 1920), p. 600.
10. See "The Business Center as an Institution," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 9 (Mar.–Apr. 1925): 269–275; a summary of some studies, made by E. H. Shideler, of business centers in Chicago.
11. Jacques Levainville, Caen: "Notes sur l'évolution de la fonction urbaine," *La Vie Urbaine;* 5 (1923): 223–278; an analysis of the trade functions of a city.
12. For a businessman's version of the relation of land values to the use of space, see *Principles of City Land Values*, by Richard M. Hurd (New York, 1924).
13. It is estimated that the population of Manhattan dropped from 2,284,103 in 1920 to 1,877,000 in 1926, a loss of 407,103. For a brief summary of "Population Mobility and Community Organization" with reference to Manhattan, see the article of that title, by Leroy Bowman, in Publications of the *American Sociological Society*, Vol. 32, 1926, pp. 133–137.
14. "Population Movements in Chicago," Thomas W. Allinson, *Journal of Social Forces*, 2 (May 1924): 529–33.
15. "Los Angeles," by Bruce Bliven, *New Republic*, July 13, 1927.
16. The Stagger Plan as a traffic solution is discussed in an article in the *New York Sunday Times;* Jan. 30, 1927; XX:8. See also *New York World*, 1–24–28.
17. See "The Scope of Human Ecology," by R. D. McKenzie, in *The Urban Community*, E. W. Burgess (Chicago, 1926); note p. 170.
18. Papers and discussion on *Planning Problems of Town, City, and Region* (Baltimore, 1925), p. 152.
19. For a symposium on giant power, see the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March 1925. Among the articles are: "Decentralization and Suburbanization," Irving Fisher; "Power and Working Life," Carter Goodrich; "Influence of Cheap Power on Factory Location and on Farming," Ernest S. Bradford.

20. See *The St. Louis Church Survey*, H. Paul Douglass (New York, 1924).
21. *East Side, West Side*, Felix Riesenberg (New York, 1927), p. 307.
22. Wirth has a good classified bibliography which is the final section of *The City*, by Park and Burgess. Quotation from p. 211.
23. See *A Study of Mobility of Population in Seattle*, Andrew W. Lind; University of Washington Publications in The Social Sciences, 1925. The pamphlet contains a statement of the sociological significance of mobility, also a discussion of the relation of mobility to personal and social disorganization.
24. *The City*, Park and Burgess, p. 159, ch. IX, "The Mind of the Hobo: Reflections upon the relation between Mentality and Locomotion."
25. *Social Mobility*, Pitirim Sorokin (New York, 1927). See final section on "Effects of Mobility."

VIII

RECREATION

Urban Emphasis on Recreation

Any study of urban life must take into account recreation; indeed, the study of recreation is one of the most informing approaches to the study of any stage of civilization. The foregoing chapters on the functions of the city have dealt largely with the material or serious aspects of urban life. Recreation is no less important a function in the behavior patterns of urban population.

The city is not only more stimulating, creating more wants, but it also supplies more resources for meeting them. One bank suffices to serve the needs of a village, and consequently no banking group or banking center arises, but many banks are needed in the large urban centers, and as a result many people participate and make their living in banking, finance, and credit. This group, then, takes its place beside other functioning and specialized groups, adding something to color the habits of the total urban population. To a degree every function leaves its impress on the sum total of what constitutes the culture of the city. The recreational and non-vocational activities of the people constitute another group of functions influencing urban life.

In a sense, recreation may be considered as much of a specialty as are those activities which contribute directly to supplying the material necessities. It is one, at least, of the great motivating forces in the social life that has always characterized cities. Indeed play sometimes seems to be the end for which all other urban functions exist. The great Coliseum of Rome may be taken as the type and symbol of play interests in an early city. From all the

country roundabout, as well as from the city itself, the people flocked to witness the gladiatorial contests, exhibitions of strength, bravery, and speed. Some historians have indicated this — an exaggerated interest in recreation — as among the causes for the decline of Rome. In many ancient cities, business and recreation were pleasantly mixed, much as they are in some modern Old World cities which have not been completely mechanized by our strenuous commercialism. Market days were also festive days. Holy days were also market days. The tradition which has produced our county fairs has developed from the early fairs and markets which were opportunities for recreation. A study of early nursery rhymes indicates how the market and the fair were opportunities for the people to go to town to buy, sell, and mix in the gaiety and entertainment. Going to town in some parts of the world is still an event to be anticipated and remembered, perhaps even to be cast in rhyme as in the early days of England (Vide: "Simple Simon met a pie-man, going to the fair"; "Ride a cock horse to Banbury Cross" [a market cross]; or "As I was going to St. Ives [another market and fair town] I met a man with seven wives.").

The Three-part Day

But the contemporary industrial city draws sharp lines between business and pleasure, pursuing each strenuously but separately. The city-dweller works in one place and plays in another, and often with an entirely different set of people. With grim seriousness he performs even routine jobs and his play is in the same strained manner, although he may give the appearance of joyous abandon. He works and plays with his eye on the clock. On the job he sells his time by the hour, and the recreation he buys is often ticked off by the minute. Getting his money's worth is in the final analysis a matter of the duration of the pastime, whether a ball-game, a movie, a dance, or games. Daylight and darkness divide the rural day into two parts. In the city, the clock makes the division three: eight hours for work, recreation,

and rest respectively; and the three are seldom mixed. Such an arrangement suits the mechanized life with its strain of concentration.

How then do city people give freedom to their bodies, outlet to their imaginations, and joy to their existence? In this time which is blocked off for them as leisure, what do they do? And what light do their recreations throw upon city life as a psycho-sociological phenomenon? In attempting to find satisfactory answers to these queries, two considerations may profitably be kept in mind: (1) in the United States a distinct cult of play has become one of the bases of urban existence. Historically it arose during the days of bicycling, and received its greatest impetus during the administration of President Roosevelt who popularized play and the strenuous life. One of its by-products is a wide-spread system of supervised and municipally-financed recreation which is characteristic of all American cities. (2) Since the earliest days of western pioneering, a sporting tradition has existed in the United States. The expenditure of from one to three millions of dollars to witness a prize-fight is in line with this tradition. The bronco-busting cow-boy may no longer find profitable employment for his half-playful though dangerous occupation, but he can now enlist in one of the professional rodeos held each year in New York City or Chicago. The first of these two considerations explains in part something of the universality of interest in play and recreation which is representative of the nation as a whole, and particularly of cities. The second trend gives a clue to the gigantic systems of professionalized play, recreation, and sport which exist in all our modern urban communities. Two tendencies, then, need to be taken into account for both have reached their height in cities: that which leads large numbers to engage in various forms of recreation, and that which leads toward a high degree of professional expertness in sports engaged in for profit and as exhibition before large audiences.

Play as Social Treatment

Recreation* is both a juvenile and an adult interest; it is both a private and public function, and in its application is both amateur and professional. Spontaneous play for children is an end rather than a means to an end. But frequently it comes to the child from the adult world as a discipline or as treatment, guidance, education, or in some form which is virtually a means to an end. When the child is a social problem, play is frequently prescribed, or perhaps it would be better to say that a certain play program is prescribed for him. Sometimes when he appears in the Juvenile Court as a delinquent, the judge sentences him to play, forbidding him to play with certain groups, and requiring that he play with others, telling him also where and when to play. In the large city the child is a great liability. He has no natural occupational function such as he formerly had in pastoral and agricultural economic organizations. There are not even chores for him to do. So he plays and goes to school until he reaches the age at which the law releases him to go to work, and then he is at liberty to become a wage-earner. While many forms of recreation are participated in for their own sake by adults as well as by children, play is often a means to an end for both, prescribed

Note.* The terms *play, recreation, sport,* and *amusement* are used somewhat indiscriminately in this chapter. There are, of course, technical distinctions which should be noted. *Play* is any spontaneous activity engaged in for its own sake; its values are immediate. *Recreation* may be either play or exercise; it is activity engaged in for the purpose of contrast or relief. *Sport* is play raised to the level of contest; its chief values are not those derived from the activity but rather the secondary values which result from victory. *Amusement* is a term which has come to be used to denote non-pecuniary activity (or inactivity) the chief value of which is relief from boredom or from the serious business of life. These distinctions are, obviously, psychological in nature; the distinctions are drawn by virtue of the interest which leads to activity; the interest in turn determines the kinds of value derived. It has become customary to deal with the term *play* as if it belonged predominantly to the life of children and as if it were based upon an instinctive drive. Instead of resorting to repeated definition and discrimination, it has been thought advisable to use the above terms interchangeably. They all connote activity of leisure-time. The sociologist's quest is for an explanation of the relation of leisure-time activities to the remaining aspects of city-cultures.

and taken for the sake of the health or for some other ulterior reason.

Any study of play, particularly for the child in his outdoor activities, focuses attention on the problem of space. High rents and rising land values have forced the occupation of almost all the available space except where lots await development or where land has been appropriated by the city. Streets, which occupy from twenty-five per cent to forty per cent of the total urban area, constitute the chief urban playground. The city makes its own peculiar demands and sets its own limitations upon play. In the congested areas, where the value of property is measured by the number of human feet passing by in each twenty-four hours, recreational demands must make their way against powerful pecuniary interests. To engage in play and recreation in a city means to occupy space which might earn attractive dividends. In its recreational studies the Russell Sage Foundation has found that a minimum of one hundred square feet is required for a child playing, and for running games a minimum of a thousand square feet to the child. Authorities also estimate that one-tenth of the area of a city should be given over to playground use, that is, in addition to the twenty-five per cent to forty per cent used by the public for thoroughfares. Unless the city sets such space aside before the building period begins, the rising land values due to the domination of commerce and industry render purchase prohibitive. Indoor play space is for the most part privately owned and operated for profit.

Playgrounds and Safety

Recreation in parks and playgrounds, where security to life and limb is guaranteed, is receiving increased attention. In the more congested quarters, where the thousand square feet to the child in running play are not available, the traffic is often cut off for certain hours of the day, and certain streets are set apart as zones of safety for children.[1] The promotion of safety is, in

fact, the principal argument used in behalf of an appropriation of $20,000,000 for playgrounds, as indicated in the following resolution submitted to the Board of Aldermen of New York:

WHEREAS, The first need of the people of our city to-day is children's playgrounds, in order that we may decrease the municipal murder of New York's children which now goes on at the rate of one or more child killed every day in the year by motor vehicles in the streets of New York, and in order to give the children in our city an environment that is more healthy and wholesome, as well as safer, as a force against the present factors which make for delinquency and criminality;

RESOLVED, That the Board of Aldermen request the Board of Estimate and Apportionment to set aside forthwith, the sum of $20,000,000 for the immediate purpose of playgrounds in crowded parts of all five boroughs, to the end of giving New York the good name which she now so woefully lacks in this regard in comparison with other American cities, and to the end also that we remember the old, old saying that was said in these words: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these ye have done it unto me." (dated April 19, 1927.)

How effective playgrounds seem to be in saving life is indicated by the following excerpt:

Declaring child accidents were reduced in proportion to increase of safe play facilities, the Public Education Association of the City of New York cited yesterday, in support of a plea for more playgrounds, the killing of 38 children and maiming of 1,300 others in New York streets in September. . .

"This killing and maiming," said the Association's statement, "is again approaching the maximum of an average of 40 deaths per month, reached in the first six months of 1927. The average in the vacation months of July and August was thirty per cent less than in the preceding months.

These are the months during which vacation playgrounds are operated by the Board of Education, and it seems fair to deduce some relation between existence of safe play facilities and reduction in the rate of child accidents."[2]

Studies reveal, however, that the greatest number of fatalities occur in the outlying streets, not in the congested districts.

The percentage varies from city to city ranging from fifteen to sixty, but the majority are killed on the block where the child lives, or immediately near, and "especially during the evening rush hour." [3] It is estimated that thirty-seven per cent of the persons killed in the United States by automobiles in 1925 were children under fourteen. Lewis I. Dublin says: "In the cities this proportion is often a half. It is now absolutely unsafe for children to play in the streets of our cities." [4] Thus with the city streets more dangerous than the battle-front there results, besides the loss through tens of thousands of children being killed or permanently injured, the ever-present orgy of fear which cannot help but leave its impress upon their nervous systems. Playgrounds tend to reduce this number and their cost is not prohibitive; after the initial expense, no more than one per cent of the total municipal budget is required.[5]

The Space Problem

The gravity of the urban recreation problem is aggravated by other drastic limitations growing out of the lack of space. Even where the child has the prescribed thousand square feet for running play, there is danger of friction, of incurring the displeasure of adults or of the agencies of discipline in which society vests authority, namely, the schools, the police, park guardians, and sometimes the church. The crowd is probably responsible for much of the maladjustment. At the periphery of the city, more and more space is being given over to recreation, especially for golf. The wealthy who have leisure can afford to travel outside the city for an afternoon game, and to serve this group, country clubs are multiplying. Then, there is the large automobile-owning class (decreasing proportionately with the size of the city) which begins to have freer access to the open spaces. During the three-day holiday, Saturday to Monday, July 4, 1927, it was estimated that no less than 600,000 persons from greater New York went to the country places, the resorts, and the beaches. Most of

them went by train and boat, and the auto traffic can only be guessed, but the highways were choked, as is the case on holidays on nearly every road leading from the city to the open spaces. The increase in the use of fresh-air farms and outing camps may also be a result of the increase of good roads and a wide-spread car ownership.

Due to the pressure on space, the patterns of recreation are rapidly changing. The form of many games is being modified. Where ball is played on the streets, the soft ball is substituted for the hard. Hand-ball, requiring little space, is becoming very popular, while running games that predominate in the village are not found. Perhaps the pressure on space has had something to do with the disappearance of the old-time "square dance." Certainly the "round dance" or couple dance requires less room. There are other reasons, of course. For instance, the square dances were of the community and utilized large groups, and certainly would not be welcome at a public dance where most of the patrons are strangers, each interested in dancing with one or two friends. More significant still is the fact that the home is no longer a recreational center. McKenzie in his neighborhood study of Columbus, Ohio, found that the old-time forms of recreation — "picnics, neighborhood dances, barn dances, fishing parties, friendly visiting, etc.," — had been all but discontinued.[6] In this survey it was found that of a thousand families, 235 reported no visiting at all, and only 506 families reported more visiting in the neighborhood than outside. McKenzie concludes that social visiting, which is such a well-established custom in rural life, is becoming obsolete in the city.[7] Social and recreational life is fast becoming an interest outside the home, an interest to be exploited by commercialized recreation or to be assumed as a public function.

Commercialized Recreation

When the home ceased to be a recreational center, all the traditions and habits of utilizing leisure time which were identi-

fied with it vanished. Sophistication supplanted simplicity, and the old pastimes, parlor games, singing old songs, etc., were set aside. To fill the gap, we have developed (1) the agencies which operate for profit; (2) the agencies supported by private funds; and (3) the public agencies supported by taxation. The commercialized pastimes have all but monopolized the field, if monopoly is determined by the amount of money spent. The city of New York, for instance, has 208 theatres and 580 motion picture houses with a total of 858,973 seats. According to estimates by William F. Quigley, Commissioner of Licenses, in the report of 1927, a a million and a half patrons visit these each week-day. In 1925, the fourteen leading cities in the United States contained 2,162 theatres, including the moving picture houses, and their capacity was sufficient to seat one person out of every nine of the total population of these cities. In Buffalo there were ten regular theatres (for the spoken drama) with a total seating capacity of 16,987, or one seat for about every thirty of the population, or one theatre for every 51,000 of the population. In addition there were fifty-nine moving picture theatres with a combined seating capacity of 22,345, or one seat for about every twenty-two of the population, or one moving picture theatre for every 8,600 of the population.[8] These figures give some indication of the extent of the commercialized theatre in the United States, but they are on the whole inadequate since the movement itself is thoroughly dynamic; for example, seven new large theatres for the spoken drama were erected in New York City during the past year, and motion picture theatres emerge like mushrooms in every neighborhood of every city. The financial investment in these institutions is about one and a half billion dollars, and the daily attendance is about 20,000,000, which, incidentally, equals the number of automobiles we have in the United States.[9]

The following table of yearly "luxury expenditures" in the United States is no less illuminating:

Tobacco	$2,100,000,000
Races, joy rides, and pleasure resorts	3,000,000,000
Movies	1,000,000,000
Candy	2,230,000,000
Cosmetics, perfume, and scented soap	1,950,000,000
Jewelry	500,000,000
Furs	350,000,000
Soft drinks	300,000,000
Chewing gum	50,000,000
The automobile as a pleasure vehicle	3,000,000,000 [10]

These figures are presented as only indicative of the magnitude of the recreative function in the United States, and of the extent to which play is a market commodity. They do not include sports such as baseball, football, and the many minor ones, or such large items as reading matter, intoxicants, the theatre and opera, dancing, and many others. The Buffalo Survey of 1925 indicated that 53,314 people, or about one-tenth of the total population, could be accommodated in the theatres, cinema houses, dance halls, billiard parlors, and bowling alleys — the five most prominent types of commercialized indoor recreation. If this ratio is valid for other American cities, and there is reason to assume that it is exceeded by many of them, this group of commercial agencies could accommodate from five to six million people at a given moment, or many times that number during the day. These institutions, paying high rents, as they often do, and competing for space with other forms of business, must necessarily make large profits. In addition, they are competing with numerous private and public recreational agencies, they pay high advertising rates, and often carry a high overhead expense. Thus commercialized recreation constitutes one of the unique and significant aspects of modern urban life. In the conclusions of the Cleveland Survey, the authors state that:

> Commercial recreation has a distinct and permanent place in the recreational life of the city. In volume of service given, it is much more important than privately endowed or publicly supported recreation.[11]

The Qualities of Commercial Recreation

Commercial recreation is sociologically important in two ways: (1) it influences and colors the cultural pattern of the urban community, and (2) it influences and modifies moral standards. Recreation for which people will pay in money represents a dynamic clue to existing culture. Before the rise of commercial recreation, local communities were distinguished by indigenous forms of play and recreation. The observer could, by analyzing the forms of recreation, recognize certain values inherent in the current culture. If, however, one desires to find similar clues to the cultural patterns of contemporary urban communities, observation will need to be directed toward those recreations and amusements which have taken their place beside capitalistic, profit-making enterprises. The profit-taker's appeal is direct; he hurdles traditions, customs, and *mores*, going straight toward those fundamental needs and interests which are so far neglected that people are willing to pay in order to satisfy them. Consequently commercial recreation is dynamic. It can enlist capital only if it produces mass results in the form of profits. The measure of success is the intake at the box-office window; therefore it makes its appeal to numbers. In the end, some criterion of quality must of course arise, but the initial appeal is to numbers, not quality. The appeal to interest must be pitched at a level to which the largest number can respond. Since the crowd obviously responds, commercial recreation becomes an index to the tastes and sense of values of a community.

Commercial recreation is a most potent factor for cultural standardization. From a film produced in Hollywood, a great many prints are made which are circulated in all parts of the country and abroad. All ages, all nations, many religious and occupational groups see it. If enough of this standardized stimulus is offered, it not only arouses uniform responses but also calls forth imitative habits of thinking and talking. The movie, radio, phonograph record, comic strips, columns in the daily press, the

travelling professional entertainers, and more recently the Vitaphone and other far-reaching contact devices facilitate this process of standardization. The inroads of standardization have spelled the doom of the unique and individual in recreation. Another great factor for imposing uniformity upon certain age groups is the dance.

The Dance in America

The dance has played a significant rôle in American history, with respect to both rural and urban areas. In many communities and at certain times it has been regarded as the great "taboo" of recreation; and reformers still refer to it as the open doorway to all other forms of degradation and vice. But the dance has been irrepressible as a form of American recreation; whenever denied in proper circles, as Miss Lambin states:

> The dance ran the subterranean course in the outcast groups and suffered deterioration. In the haunts of the tough, the lost, the curious, the idle, it was permitted on payment of an admission fee. Degraded forms were the accompaniment of prostitution and drunken orgies. Couple dancing, introduced in the middle of the eighteenth century, an adaptation of some of the steps of the folk-dances, speedily became, for obvious reasons, the only form of dancing in that milieu. The "respectable" members of society, if they danced, did so in their own homes and social groups. But the cheap tenements offered no such opportunity, and despite the crying need of their population for physical recreation, few voices were lifted to ask for the restoration of the dance to better social auspices than the corner saloon.[12]

However, the dance appears to have become respectable once more. Competition has forced out of business both the dark, unwholesome cinemas and the subterranean dance halls. With prices relatively equal, people prefer to go to the spacious, palace-like halls which sometimes cost hundreds of thousands of dollars, and bring large returns to their owners. For example, the dance halls of New York are reputed to have earned $8,000,000 in 1920. Al-

though urban forces have converted dancing from an ancient pastime into a lucrative business, it still remains the most effective means of socialization. New York claims a thousand dancing schools run for profit, and in the other cities of the country are several thousand more. In 1920 in the United States there were 9711 professional dancing teachers. With the aid of mechanical devices, hundreds of these now teach by correspondence. Some spend thousands of dollars annually in advertising.

Commercialization and Public Morals

Moreover, it is this dynamic feature of commercial recreation which leads to ethical considerations. When pecuniary profit is the goal of any enterprise, avarice plays its part. Promoters of commercial recreation seize upon every advantage, always offering something new, "the latest hit." To gain new patrons as well as to retain their former patrons, something which is not already known and accepted is continually being advertised. In this indiscriminate search for novelties, new forms of amusement, and variations in recreation, the promoter frequently runs counter to the accepted morals of the community. Nearly all forms of commercial recreation and amusement are now controlled by municipal ordinances, and are subject to inspection and censorship. One form of regulation is achieved through the control of licenses by which the city permits and defines different types of private recreation. The applicant who opens the business is expected to conform to and honor certain standards of equipment, conduct, and morals. Inspection is another form of regulation. To protect themselves against the embarrassment of public interference, private commercial recreations set up their own regulations, disciplining one another. Public censorship, for instance, is being supplemented and sometimes preceded by private censorship. At best, public regulation is a police function, although in enforcing a law the private agencies sometimes resort to what might be termed police methods, and consequently often assume the form of an

extra-official but accepted censorship. Every city has its vigilance committees, its anti-vice societies, purity leagues, or protective associations, promoted by the leading citizens, which serve as a sort of voice for morals and decency, goading the public officials to their duty. In Chicago, between one such improvement association and a number of the leading dance halls a truce has been signed whereby the association appoints, and the dance halls pay the salaries of matrons and floor managers. Perhaps no single interest in urban life invites more serious attention or is receiving more study than the control of recreation. The reasons are obvious: much of the delinquency among juveniles, and misconduct among adults is definitely identified with the misuse of leisure. And if wise direction can bring about improvement anywhere, this seems the logical point of departure. These agencies of public control do not, however, destroy the dynamic quality of commercial recreation; the cosmopolitan nature of urban populations is favorable to change, whether it be of morals or new means of communication. It therefore happens that agencies of commercial recreation, and particularly theatres, in the larger cities have become the chief interpreters, if not instigators, of ethical fluctuations. It is, for example, a well-known fact that plays which may be presented with impunity in New York City need to be considerably modified, "toned down," before they can proceed to the cities and towns of the South and Middle West. But gradually the cities in other regions come to accept the standards which prevail in the more dynamic, fluctuating communities.

Recreation as Social Control

Commercial recreation has been defined as "a form of business that capitalizes for personal or corporate profit, the leisure hours of the people." [13] In the same vein it may be said that private and public recreation attempt to capitalize the leisure hours of people, not for profit but in the interest of physiological, civic, social, and moral values. There are, of course, a few private

agencies which promote recreation with no other object than to provide fun, enjoyment, appreciation, but by far the larger number present their programs under the ægis of a chosen set of values. Some offer recreation as an antidote for crime, as a safeguard to health, as a training-school for civic and personal virtues, and as a supplementary activity to offset the monotony of labor. Recreation which proceeds under the banner of some such set of values is founded upon a technique and a philosophy. The germ of its philosophy is that recreation is needed to balance life, to give to individuals the opportunity for free and spontaneous expression; in cities, it is claimed, recreation is essential for easing the strain of living, but it is also hoped that guided play will preserve the *mores*. The central point in the technique of this type of recreation is organization and supervision. Perhaps this technique and its corresponding philosophy are more readily and widely accepted in the United States than in any other nation. The titles of the books, monographs, theses, pamphlets, and periodical articles dealing with the technique and philosophy of play and recreation form a voluminous bibliography. This is not the appropriate place to evaluate this literature, but it should be noted as evidence of the large place occupied by leisure-time activities in the civilization of the United States. Nowhere is the effect of this movement so prominent as in the larger cities. The authors of the Buffalo Recreational Survey say:

> Recreation, or the constructive use of the free time of the people — young and old — is of such supreme importance to individual and public welfare that provisions for recreation should be a public duty and responsibility.

The above statement describes what may be regarded as the municipal recreation credo of most American cities. Indeed municipal departments or commissions of recreation have now become so powerful in many cities that they have taken their places beside police departments in the political life of the community.

Thus play and recreation have reached the level of political issues in American life, and politicians have learned that there is no better vote-getter than the promise of a playground to a community. In 1917, Detroit was spending $172,463 annually on public recreation; Pittsburgh $167,062; Boston $356,202; and the advocates of expansion in Cleveland estimate that to meet existing needs, their budget should be nearly half a million dollars. Included in the municipal recreation budgets are playgrounds, community centers, public parks, school gardens, bath houses, bathing beaches, athletic leagues, golf courses, baseball and football fields, tennis courts, facilities for festivals, pageants, etc. Soldiers' Field, where the Eucharistic Congress was held and where more recently 130,000 people witnessed the Dempsey-Tunney fight, is part of the South Park system, one of the fifteen public park systems of Chicago.

A significant item in these programs of municipal recreation is the public use of the school buildings and facilities for recreational purposes. In many cities the school is regarded as the natural community center. Perhaps this is more true of the smaller than of the larger cities. In Chicago several attempts have been made in civic affairs to institute the town hall meeting by using the school as the neighborhood center, but none has succeeded. However, the school does function even in the chaos of the large city. It is a center of recreation for children, and an educational center for other groups of the population, its program including plays, games, pageants, lectures, and adult evening classes in which serious studies are pursued, all conducted under public auspices, and paid for out of public funds.

The Play Impulse

In any given American city the list of private organizations and agencies whose programs of activities are either wholly or in part recreational is incredibly large. A few sample figures, obviously a partial list, but including some 315 organizations,

for the City of Buffalo, will suffice to give some conception of this phase of urban life:

Churches and recreational facilities	114
Organizations promoting sport and recreation	65
Masonic lodges of various kinds	44
Clubs for adults	34
Dramatic clubs and organizations	23
Choral clubs	16
Settlements or neighborhood organizations	10
City-wide organizations for young people	9

At the time these figures were gathered (1924–1925), eighty-seven organizations were affiliated with the Buffalo City Federation of Women's Clubs having a combined membership of approximately fourteen thousand. It is, of course, difficult to determine how large a part of the sociable activity involved in the multitudinous private organizations in the United States should be designated as recreational. It is certainly true that many organizations whose stated aims are civic or philanthropic hold their members through incidental recreational appeals. Indeed, during the past decade a rapidly-increasing number of organizations have appeared in towns and cities, such as Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, etc., in which even the serious work is conducted with a play spirit. An example is Rotary which recognizes that urban existence tends to isolate men because their interests are unlike. However, as functionaries in a larger whole they are as interdependent as the cogs in the golden wheel which is the symbol of the order. "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," so they bring together the Jacks and Bills, one from each occupation or business, much as Zonta does with business and professional women, and in superficial jollity strive to mix on a common level, lending an informal touch to their otherwise mechanical and impersonal daily life. In their social intercourse, various artificial devices are resorted to for making association easy, and for precipitating humor. Meeting for weekly luncheons, they indulge in good-natured banter, sing nonsense or sentimental songs, and consider motions

looking forward to some altruistic service or some program for boosting things along according to schedule. Each wearing an absurdly large medallion on which his nickname, his real name, and his business are printed in bold letters, men from different occupations, having different backgrounds, are thrown together in friendly comradery. To some observers these gropings for the human touch seem but marks of our cultural sterility — pathetic attempts to superimpose an artificial fellowship upon their otherwise individualistic, urbane existence to which as businessmen they are harmoniously adapted. Back-slapping, hand-shaking, familiarity with names, and similar manifestations of friendship indicate some of the means which city-dwellers will adopt for relaxation.

The social and recreational activities of the Y. M. C. A., Boy Scouts, and other middle-class agencies are definitely charged with the task of upholding a moral and religious code. Faith in recreation as an antidote for the evils that beset urban society leads to the establishment of numerous organizations for children, for young men, and for women. In every city, large sums are spent annually in such character-building reform recreation, much of which started as the moral equivalent of the public dance and saloon, or as a substitute for pool-rooms and questionable resorts. Strenuous efforts are being made on the part of recreational students to utilize leisure-time activities as palliatives for crime and delinquency.

The cult of efficiency demands professional leadership and direction in both commercial and non-commercial recreation. The pace is set by the commercial agencies, and in the press of competition, the non-commercial agencies are forced to fall in line. Even churches with play programs find it necessary to employ trained leadership. The swing toward professionalism tends to make the way hard for organizations which depend upon volunteers. With unpaid leaders, the Boy Scouts, for example, find it difficult to organize boys in the unfavorable slum areas — the areas where juvenile delinquency is high, and where such guidance is most needed.

Settlements and Community Centers

The most distinctive recent contribution to urban social and recreational work has been the settlement and community center. Their founders hoped through them to revive the spirit of a neighborhood in chaotic areas. Many well-meaning people went into settlement work; in fact, in the late 'eighties and early 'nineties, a wave of humanitarianism swept the colleges which resulted in the founding of settlements by universities in nearly every American city. Fired with the idealism of reform, many students and some professors turned from the universities to the slums. It was taken for granted that if the denizens of these neglected and poverty-ridden areas would coöperate, they could by being good neighbors overcome many of their difficulties. It was firmly believed that if a community life could be reëstablished, most of the social ills would pass. The open sesame to such treasures of community harmony was to be education, recreation, and the enlightenment of public opinion on which governmental action is founded. Briefly, the common objective of settlements and community centers has been to establish neighborhood life where social disorder was before.

From the settlement as the pioneer in this field of service, a number of most vital institutions either emerged or received the needed aid and guidance. It was the outstanding non-sectarian welfare movement, the cradle of welfare work in the fields of art, health, education, and recreation, but now so many other agencies have been established in these specialized fields that the old-fashioned settlement is no longer so vital an element in social welfare. Settlements, which, like Greenwich House, Hudson Guild, and Henry Street Settlement in New York, and Hull House in Chicago, have adapted their programs as theories of social welfare have changed, and so become real community educational centers, are continuing to make a positive contribution to social work. The system of nursing carried on in Henry Street Settlement is unique, and Greenwich House is conducting an equally

unique program in community organization.[14] The organization of settlements in cities into federations, and the National Federation of Settlements, comprising about 300 members, are rapidly fertilizing backward groups. As centers for meeting human needs, they are improving their technique, but their success in abolishing slums and in re-creating neighborhood life in congested poverty-areas is still to be assured.

One of the significant facts about recreation is that while it is becoming more specialized, more intense, and more of a mass movement, it is becoming more detached from the home. This means that the home, once the center of community life, has in the city been overshadowed by the colossal mass, commercialism, that is beginning to dominate recreation. Great crowds of people caught in city life with unoccupied hours constitute the market for that greatest of industries, the manufacture and sale of amusement. Whole cities are devoted to the business just as other cities are dominated by the manufacture of furniture, shoes, or rubber tires. In every city, whole areas are given over to such interests. Broadway, for instance, not only sets the pace and dominates the taste for the theatre-goers of the nation, but it is fast becoming the production center with the rest of the nation as only "the road." With the increasing use of the Vitaphone, it is not unlikely that for vaudeville circuits even the road will be ignored, and Broadway will become the manufacturing center for a cultural periphery international in scope.

In the last analysis, recreation, besides being an end in itself, as it is in the societies of children and primitive folk, and occasionally among present-day adults, becomes itself a serious problem. Its guidance and control are as much the burden of social science as in some connections it is the means of solving some social problems. Sociologically, the significance of leisure time, as it relates to the problem of social control, is indicated by the number of hours alloted to the city-dweller for recreation — from one-fourth to one-third of his time.[15]

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Give an account of the transitions in the technique and philosophy of play, using such references as *The Play of Animals* and *The Play of Man*, both by Karl Gross; *The Play Movement*, by C. E. Rainwater; the Proceedings and Publications of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. In this project, different students may select varying points of emphasis; thus, one student may trace transitions with respect to their sociological implications, another with respect to educational implications, etc.

2. List the privately-owned institutions for commercial recreation in any given city and tabulate the financial investment represented.

3. Observe the flow of patrons to a commercial institution of recreation (motion-picture theatre, pool-room, etc.) and tabulate them according to age-groupings.

4. Select ten urban families and make a study of the time each member spends in recreational activity, listing the types of activity.

5. Formulate a suitable plan of organization for a public recreation commission, together with a budget for a city of 500,000 population; one of 250,000 population; of 100,000.

6. Draft an ordinance for the regulation of commercial dance-halls; for motion picture theatres; for billiard and pool-rooms.

7. In a given city, list the private organizations and institutions whose programs are mainly or in part recreational, together with memberships and average attendances at various events.

8. Construct a program for the recreational use of school buildings, property, and equipment in a given city.

9. List the lodges and secret societies in any given city, with respective memberships.

10. Analyze the activities of one to three settlements and state the proportion of the program which may be legitimately designated as recreational.

11. Discuss novels or accounts you have read of recreation in rural life. Compare the pastimes described there to those of the great city today. Suggested novels: *Wild Geese, Main Street, My Antonia, The Hoosier School Master, The Virginian*, Hamlin Garland's stories of the Mid-West, or stories about village life abroad.

READINGS AND REFERENCES

1. For general reading on fairs and markets, see F. W. Tickner, *A Social and Industrial History of England* (London, 1915); also

William Cunningham, *Monuments of English Municipal Life*, in Helps for Students of History, No. 26 (New York, 1920).

2. See "Playgrounds as a Factor in Public Safety," by Weaver W. Pangborn, in *The Annals* for September, 1927.
3. *The New World*, 11/25/27.
4. "Finding the Cause of Accidents," by S. J. Williamson, in *The Annals*, September, 1927 (the City Planning Number).
5. *How Can Automobile Accidents Be Controlled?* Lewis I. Dublin, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. (New York, 1924), p. 2.
6. See chapter on "Recreation" in *Practice of Municipal Administration*, Lent D. Upson (New York, 1926).
7. *The Neighborhood: A study of Local Life in the City of Columbus, Ohio* (Chicago, 1923). Also in *American Journal of Sociology* for 1922.
8. E. R. Groves, *Social Problems and Education* (New York, 1925).
9. *Recreational Survey of Buffalo*, 1925.
10. U. S. Federal Trade Commission, Docket No. 835, August 30, 1921, Washington, D. C. See H. R. Reports, Sixty-fourth Congress, Hearings on Federal Motion Picture Commission, H. R. 456, 1916.
11. Estimate of U. S. Secretary of Treasury, in *Literary Digest*, July 10, 1920, p. 122.
12. Concluding volume *Cleveland Recreational Survey*, (Cleveland, 1929), p. 141.
13. *Report of the Public Dance Hall Committee of the San Francisco Center of the California Civic League of Women Voters*, by Maria Lambin, 1924, pp. 5–6.
14. *Recreational Survey of Buffalo*, p. 76.
15. *The Settlement Primer*, by Mary Simkhovitch (Boston, 1925). Its author is the director of Greenwich House, New York. Also see *The Settlement Horizon*, by R. A. Woods and A. J. Kennedy (New York, 1922), and *Community Problems*, A. E. Wood (New York, 1928), ch. XVI.
16. For further readings, see *The Organization and Administration of Playgrounds and Recreation*, by Jay B. Nash; *Psychology of Play Activities*, H. C. Lehman and Paul A. Witty; *Theory of Organized Play*, Bowen and Mitchell; *Practice of Organized Play*, Bowen and Mitchell; all published by A. S. Barnes & Co., New York. The book by Nash is the most recent and is suggestive of the extent of organized public recreation.

IX

THE MECHANIZED URBAN ENVIRONMENT

The Advent of Machines

"Under the remorseless hammering of the machine was effected a standardization of American society that daily increased in precision and completeness;" so wrote Charles and Mary Beard in the concluding chapter, "The Machine Age," of their recent work, *The Rise of American Civilization*. They interpret the machine as a potent cultural disturber of the larger currents of American life. A new society emerges, first congested about massive steam power-plants, but later dispersed by the gracious aid of the more mobile forms of power — gasoline and electricity. The newer social and cultural values of an emerging society are derived from and rest upon this economic-mechanical discipline.

The machine came to a society already organized, its patterns of action and social habits fairly well established. If whole centuries may be epitomized in single sentences, it may be said that the sixteenth century constituted a reaction against the Middle Ages and thereby made room for the great intellectual movement of the seventeenth century. Speaking of this latter epoch, Whitehead[1] says:

> It is the one century which consistently, and throughout the whole range of human activities, provided intellectual genius adequate for the greatness of its occasions.

This is high praise indeed, but when one considers the names of Bacon, Kepler, Harvey, Galileo, Descartes, Pascal, Huyghens, Boyle, Newton, Locke, Spinoza, and Leibnitz, it becomes apparent

that this must have been a period of intense intellectual ferment. Out of this " century of genius " came the practical eighteenth century, and upon its heels, the machine age and the urban civilization which now challenges so much that went before, though it is a consistent successor of all the previous stages of civilization.

> The industrial revolution has proceeded with unbroken continuity from the beginning to the eighteenth century; and this revolution was initiated almost exclusively by practical inventors, who harnessed the forces of nature that they might secure wealth for themselves. The eighteenth century was not lacking in men who understood the visions of Roger Bacon, of Leonardo, and of Francis Bacon, each of whom had seen the possibilities in man's control over nature. But it was reserved for the nineteenth century to develop an appreciation of scientific theory in relation to industry.[2]

Leonardo drew plans of model cities and towns, but not until the nineteenth century did city planning become a necessity. This new city, machine-made as it is, represents the type for most of the so-called Western Civilization. The new city, attuned to the machine and not to nature, has been the scene of transforming the old functions and crafts, the abolishing of old habits and tasks, and the destruction of tradition and custom by the relentless impact of invention. Slowly at first, and then with the force of a deluge it took over the processes of production, conditioning consumption as well. Almost all human behavior has finally been obliged to re-orient itself in terms of machines.

Machines and Culture

Discussion concerning what the machine has done and bids fair to do is heard on all sides. To some the end-result is wreathed in bright colors; to others in dismal shades. The liberty-loving and esthetic see nothing but evil in the train of mass production and standardization, and those " of a classical bent and spectators of a soulful temper " envisage only deadening monotony. Others, more practically minded and inclined to measure progress in mathe-

matical terms, are moved to inspired exclamations when they prophesy the future. The sociologist's task is to interpret the machine in cultural terms. His query is: What does the machine do to human beings and societies? From this point of inquiry, it becomes obvious that the modern city, as distinguished from those of ancient times, is one of the products of machines. It could not have come into being without machine production and it would quickly pass out of existence if machines were suddenly swept from the earth. Moreover, insofar as cities are the products of machines, they are conditioned by the functioning of these machines. Our quest is to discover in what manner the lives of city dwellers are influenced by mechanical processes.

There can be no doubt that the twin forces of mass production and standardization of commodities exercise a direct influence upon urban life. Dynamic, heedless of customs and traditions, the machine permits of but one patterned result, whereas from the use of a tool, a variety of patterns may emerge. Beginning by standardizing production processes, the machine finally standardizes ways of living. The worker must submit to stereotyped movements dictated by machines, and consumers must ultimately submit to the consumption of standardized goods. In short, the machine negates all forms of behavior which do not conform to its movement. Older and more primitive civilizations were guided by standardized ways of life which were transmitted through the authority of social customs, traditions, and *mores*. This modern standardization differs qualitatively; it is standardization by reason of external compulsion, and therefore becomes central to any rational explanation of modern life. Until extra-human and extra-animal power was made available, there was little or no incentive to improve tools beyond a certain level of efficiency.

In the genealogy of mechanisms the tool preceded the machine. The tool was likewise an invention, though not always so disturbing as the machine has been. The tool always remained something approximating an extension of the organism, or at

least an extension of an organ of the body. That describes a hoe or a rake or a spade with which man tilled the garden. The capacity of the tool to call forth repetitious responses from its uses was definitely limited to the capacity of those wielding it. This gross distinction between tools and machines is aptly illustrated by comparisons between a simple hand-shovel and a complicated steam-shovel. Both dig in the earth and both are used to alter the environment, but they differ in the method of attack, and also in the rate of change. For instance, the Utah Copper Company is mining a mountain of low-grade ore, literally digging the mountain away with steam-shovels. After removing the copper and other metals, the residue is spread over the waste spaces surrounding the Great Salt Lake. Here are two radical alterations of environment resulting from machine-use.

Ultimately, the functions of the machine produce a new concept of progress, and a new philosophy of production.[8] Moreover, the machine sets up new goals of achievement for which men are the means and not the ends. There evolves a new idea-system within which cities must be rationalized.

Dynamic Aspects of Machines

To clarify its relation to the urban sociological problem, four aspects of the machine need to be considered, namely: (a) its constitution; (b) its spread; (c) its laws and results; and (d) its effect upon urban life, in fact, upon all modern society.

a. The machine is essentially a labor-saving device. The primary justification for its existence is economic, and wherever it is opposed the reason is generally that it invades the sacred province of some craft and leaves workers jobless. Though but an assemblage of geared-in parts and quite impersonal in its operations the machine is nonetheless a competitor with men.

Taken in its narrower sense, the word "machine" means a contrivance for increasing the force we can bring to bear upon objects until it exceeds the limits imposed upon the tension of our muscles. As most

of the 400 voluntary muscles of the human body are attached to the bones in a manner which diminishes the force exerted below the actual tension of the muscles, the adoption of machinery constitutes a reversal of the " natural " use of the system of levers which we call our skeleton.[4]

The fundamental elements of which the machine is composed are not new to science. They have been known for centuries:

The six machines from which all other machines are derived are the Lever, the Inclined Plane, the Wedge, the Pulley, the Wheel and Axle, and the Screw. . . . The real importance of these contrivances lies in the fact that they increase the power of the human body without any further evolution of the human organism.[5]

b. The foregoing mechanistic facts may be called the physiological aspect of the machine. At least they indicate how the machine differs from the tool and from the normal movements of muscles and bones. Since the species *homo sapiens* has existed for unknown thousands of centuries, and the machine arrived but a century ago, it is impossible to predict what effects it will eventually have upon man as a biological organism. Already we can see how it is affecting his behavior, and we can sense some of the trends of its influence upon culture. Before the machine appeared on the scene man evolved through thousands of years of using crude tools, and doubtless before that there were long periods of bare-handed struggle for existence. Then of a sudden tools were displaced by gigantic engines. Instead of dominating the tools which he designed as accessories of his organism and which were identified with his personality, man found himself adjusting his organism to the movements of the machine. And the domination of the machine is filling the world:

The bellows of Hephaestus are blowing and his fires are burning. The age of machinery, begun in far-off Palaeolithic days, but only established within the last hundred years or so, has now gripped us in a scheme from which none can escape. . . . The fires of Hephaestus are fashioning a new world. They are welding humanity into a coherent mass. All the metals, all the ninety chemical elements, are being pressed into

service. Whose service? The service of a race whose destiny we can as yet only dimly appreciate. Already we command temperatures varying from a region within a few degrees of the absolute zero to within a few hundred degrees of the heat of the sun.[6]

Science and the machine become the all in all:

The empire of Hephaestus is expanding before our eyes. His bellows blow through our blast furnaces. His anvils ring in thousands of factories. His engines careen over the land, and his steamers over the sea. His internal combustion cars are strung out along the roadways, and his avions run their furrows through the clouds. Wherever he goes, he lightens the burdens of humanity and gladdens all hearts with his gifts. He brings warmth and light into dark places. He draws mankind closer and closer together. He draws them together without diminishing the distance between them. He simply makes the distance impotent to hold them apart. He enables the city children to leave their slums and gather fresh health in the open country. He gives the grimed city worker fresh clear air wherein to sleep. His lorries thundering along the highways, tighten the bonds between the farmer who gathers the fruit and the town dweller who consumes it. . . . Nor is Hephaestus satisfied yet. His task is but half finished. The whole earth must be Vulcanized.[7]

These poetic sentences may omit some aspects of strict fact but their flowing rhythm tends to convey a strong impression of the great sweep of machines and the extent to which culture is being mechanized. One comes to feel that the spread of mechanical appliances is unlimited and that one of the great tasks of the future is to learn how to live wholesomely in such a culture.

c. At present, however, man is not the master of the mechanized civilization. In a sense he is a victim of it:

What force is this that fumbling man has put in motion? Its pulsations he controls: its consequences so far have controlled him, and modern life has been so involved in a mechanical spiral that we cannot say for sure whether it is that we produce for the sake of consumption or consume for the sake of production.[8]

From Mr. Garrett's subsequent chapters and by interpolation, it may be said that the laws of the machine are: (i) to

extend potential productivity beyond present demands; (ii) to produce according to standard patterns and in mass quantities; (iii) to sell surplus by expanding credit; (iv) to exploit foreign markets; (v) to meet competition by lowering the price per unit, and in turn reduce the cost of production. The net result of these "laws" is a compulsion upon man to adjust himself to machine-made goods and to an ever-increasing rate of consumption.

d. Summarizing, the machine differs radically from the tool, exacting from man a different response; its tendency is to spread until all productive enterprises are brought within its discipline; and it sets going a new culture-complex in which engineering, economic, and social factors combine to create new forces, new motivations, and new trends. For our present purposes, the significant item is that the machine lies at the center of urban civilization. For clearness of discussion, two concepts, often used interchangeably, which the machine process introduces, need to be distinguished: standardization relating to the uniformity of product, and mechanization relating to the uniformity of process. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to descriptions of the various ways in which urban life is dominated by machines and machine-processes.

Toward Standardization

Every item that goes into the construction of any modern dwelling is a standardized product. The bricks are pressed to standard sizes, the stones are cut and labeled for specific places, the elevators and other mechanical devices come with the factory stamp — all their parts are detachable and interchangeable — and the casements and lintels of the uniform windows and doors are interchangeable. Standardized heating, lighting, plumbing, and other fixtures go into the internal arrangement. Building the house, once the plan has been blue-printed, is largely a matter of assembling these necessary parts. Once the building is finished,

it functions like any other standardized structure. This is characteristic of the modern dwelling no less than of the modern skyscraper.[8]

For the operation of the modern dwelling, we find the acme of mechanical precision in the standardized apartment. When a new tenant moves in, he has certain *connected* advantages at his disposal. The gas and electricity only need to be turned on. The hot water is on tap, the telephone is ready for use. Ice and supplies come up the dumb-waiter and garbage goes down. All these services are linked and interdependent processes. The home as a center of consumption is connected with numberless streams of supply. The water flows in and the sewage flows out through pipes. Other pipes bring in the gas, and the electric current comes over the wire; all these streams of supply may be likened to flows. This is illustrated by the milk delivery which has become so involved and mechanized that it is almost a public utility like the water, gas, or electricity supply. Once it was a personal business, but efficiency demanded more milk for less work. Machines for milking, straining and separating, pasteurizing and bottling milk were installed. Other machines wash the bottles; others make butter and cheese. Milk is delivered in quantity by machine methods—a highly mechanized process. The testing and measuring, or grading milk according to fat content is standardized. To *connect* with the flow of milk, the apartment dweller need only communicate by telephone with the nearest milk station and thereafter without ever meeting the milkman and without the least contact with the source of supply, he can go daily to his dumb-waiter and find the bottles.

Whether in a bottle or a can, milk is a standardized product. It is only one of thousands of uniform commodities that constitute man's artificial environment in contrast with his natural environment. The consumer of bottled or canned milk is more likely to be living in the artificial environment of machine-made goods than in the natural environment of the cow.

Standardization and the Market

The market of machine-made standardized articles is a conspicuous contrast to pre-machine age markets.[10] It is a market of the chain store and selling by sample or catalog. Goods are sold by abbreviated descriptions — name, number, size, shape, or other standard specifications — as only standardized articles can be. Only with such uniform goods is the chain store possible, and with the multiplicity of such products the chain store is not only increasing numerically but is drifting, as are the processes of production, into specialization. Evans Clark in the New York *Times* (July 8, 1928) points out that the chain store must increase in numbers, that in the large American cities from fifty to seventy per cent of the retail trade is in the hands of the chain stores. He quotes the following list from William J. Baxter's book, *Chain Store Distribution and Management:*

Field	*No. of Chain Companies.*	*No. of Units.*
Groceries	860	64,000
Variety chains (5c to $1)	786	8,100
Shoes	596	6,462
Drugs	415	3,475
Cigars and tobacco	30	2,850
Department stores	189	2,489
Women's clothing	215	2,036
Restaurants and tea rooms	166	2,009
Hotels	400	1,500
Candy	33	731
Meat	52	598
Millinery	46	596
Clothing	29	531
Bakeries	12	523
Hardware and sporting goods	52	511
Men's hats	24	465
Music and radio	46	435
Stationery and books	17	356
Furniture	18	179

As mass production depersonalizes the creation of goods so chain stores and mail-order houses tend to depersonalize the market and to reduce the status of the dealer from that of a trader to that of an employee or agent; and by the same token, bargaining has become a buying method of the past. The standardized commodity on a national market is most secure with a standardized price. Therefore flour at the point of production costs no more or less than it does a thousand miles away. This being true, standards of living, insofar as they relate to the standard commodities of use, do not vary greatly from locality to locality. Frequently there is more uniformity in these articles of the artificial environment than in the factors of the natural environment. The climate varies between Portland, Maine, and Portland, Oregon, but the parts of the Ford, and the Hotpoint iron, Coca-Cola, Old Dutch Cleanser, Stetson hats, or of any of the thousands of articles found in drug, grocery, hardways, or auto accessory stores scattered through the United States, remain the same.

If the standardized commodity is to survive as an invariable constant, or a fixture of the environment, ways and means for making it a significant factor in the habits of consumption over an ever-widening market area must be devised. Involved methods, and extensive organization for sales are instituted in the struggle for this widening market which the uncompromising requirements of mass production make inevitable. On the strength of production, the imperative of high-power salesmanship is that the goods must be sold. Therefore people must be taught or cajoled to buy. National advertising, "sales psychology," convincing displays, slogans, catch phrases — every manner of device and every trick of stimulation are utilized to convert lethargic individuals into the buying public. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of such want-creating, sales-boosting methods of marketing the standardized products of the machine, they all combine to hedge society in with the environmental impedimenta of the machine age. This superstructure of marketing for the machine lends to the environmental setting of society a temper

or veneer which not only conditions social relations but social values as well.

The environmental impress of the machine is found in the by-products as well, that is, in the cultural elements of society. Advertising, for instance, is an accessory to the machine. The standardized goods on the shelves of the chain store, or those described in the mail-order catalogs, are of the environment. They figure in thinking and speaking, but the active agent for creating the universe of discourse of the highly dispersed standardized market is advertising. The names on the packages, the trade marks, the "57" in concrete on the hillside, the "After Every Meal" blazoned in electric lights, the "Ask Dad, He Knows" on the bill-board are the stimulations presented in the most studied fashion to promote sales response, the imposed environment of the standardized commodity seeking a national market. In every human relationship, a universe of discourse develops, a language adapted to a particular group of interests or activities. "B-V-D," "Champion," "Waterman," "Eastman," and such trade expressions have an international connotation, each term representing a cluster of associations that function wherever they are brought into the conversation. That is one form of cultural standardization attending machine production.

The standardizing effects of national advertising must be prodigious. The newly-discovered radio is its latest bid for public attention. In 1920 there was scarcely a station in operation. Today several hundred stations compete for the air. Most of them are supported by advertising; at least, advertising bears the brunt of the expense for talent. Only advertising can afford to pay a singer $6,000 for an hour's performance.

More and more national advertising dominates the printed page. In 1924 the expenditure of 140 firms on advertising in newspapers in the United States was $43,530,000. Our total national advertising cost is estimated at considerably over a billion dollars annually.[11] Consider what an asset advertising is to such a magazine as the Saturday Evening Post; it serves sixty per cent of

its space weekly to about two hundred advertisers and runs each issue to nearly three million copies. For each issue the readers pay approximately $142,000 which is no more than a seventh of the amount paid by the advertisers who buy space for as much as $15,000 for a single page.[12]

The Post is only one of a thousand periodicals in the service of national advertising. What an impact this is for standardizing the thought processes — for making all people, wherever they may be, think in terms of the same symbols! That is why advertisers are willing to spend from a tenth to a third of the cost of a product to put into the vocabulary of a nation a single word that calls that product to mind the greatest number of times.

Standardized Recreation

With the rise of commercialized amusement the machine again figures as a culture-conditioning element. It is estimated that in the United States twenty-five million persons visit the cinema each day. A picture costing a million dollars or more in production must be viewed by as many persons to pay the initial and the distribution costs. Like the tabloid press, the screen favorites, bearing in mind the great diversity in taste and interests of the moving-picture audiences, have struck a level of subject matter, acting, and technique that will appeal to the largest numbers. In many instances, the moving picture has degenerated into commercialized mediocrity, without art, which toys with the elemental passions. Upon whatever level the trade attempts to operate, that naturally becomes the level and tone of the stimulations emanating from the cinema. Through the moving-picture, the machine becomes a vehicle of emotion, and a dispenser of social values, a mark of standardization, unique not for being a form of standardization only, but for the rapidity with which it has come into existence. In a very short time, it has not only given the nation and the world a new set of heroes in romance, but a language of the pictures as well.

What the cinema has done in photography, the radio has done in verbal communication. All these devices for communication have operated to break down the barriers of distance and space. Aside from its rôle in advertising, the radio is having a more general influence in broadening man's social horizon and widening his range of intercommunication. It is probably doing more than anything else to break down his provincialism. With the radio in action, no local folklore can endure in the Kentucky mountains, no Paul Bunyan stories in the lumber woods; in fact, isolation is gone as soon as the radio comes into use. This, again, is a factor looking toward standardization.

Radio and Newspaper

The radio, being an impersonal combination of the phonograph and the newspaper, bids fair to reëstablish the society of gossip which collapsed under the influence of the newspaper. With the passing of the neighborhood, the newspapers (that is, those in the cosmopolitan centers) were obliged to shift from the personal in news to the novel and general. The radio, by means of the human voice, broadcasts to the masses the latest in news, song hits, humor, slang, telling at the same time the intimate details that would ordinarily figure in gossip.

One of the most powerful of the cultural wares of the machine, as well as one of the most standardized, is the newspaper. Little of the individual journalism that characterized the early newspapers can be found. The present paper is a huge, departmentalized organ, giving the crowd what it wants in order to gain circulation, and selling the circulation to the advertisers to make a living. The news is only one of the minor elements in its make-up. One of the indictments against the newspaper is that it is seventy-five per cent or more "canned." This means that it is an assemblage of stereotyped segments, columns, departments, features, and strips. The so-called "canned" material comes from the syndicates situated in large

cities — several hundred are located in New York and Washington alone. The modern newspaper buys its materials from the syndicates and sells them to individuals, much as the retail store buys articles from the wholesaler and distributes them to consumers.

The syndicate is a commercialized coöperative agency for utilizing the specialist and distributing the cost. A syndicated health writer receives $50,000 per year. One paper could not afford him, but fifty-five papers can. A cartoonist drawing features receives $100,000; his material appears in nearly every city in the nation. In crises in the lives of some of the syndicated comic-strip characters, as much genuine concern is frequently felt as though they were real people, so thin is the borderline in the newspaper between fiction and reality. The great complaint against the "canned" material is that although it enables the city of fifty thousand to maintain as "up-to-date" a paper as a city of twice the size, the journal comes to have a standardized point of view, uniform with that of many other papers, shows little independence in its judgments, and loses local flavor, originality and intellectual autonomy.

The Passing of Isolation

The uniformity of stimulation emanating from the standardized, machine-made environment is culturally significant for whatever uniformity of response it may elicit. To call it uniformity is probably not entirely correct because the machine-age has settled upon communities in varying degrees. There are still relative isolations as well as extreme intensities. All the marks of the standardized culture of the city are evident on the Wyoming ranch but its conventions are not the standards of conduct of the ranch. The city is inescapably caught in the toils of the machine-age. An increasing consciousness of the machine and a decreasing consciousness of nature accompany an increasing swing toward standardization. The man on the Wyoming ranch is not so slav-

ishly geared into the life about him as is the city-dweller. He does not speed through his day with the same passionate haste, dashing from the table to catch the seven-thirty-seven train, making appointments on the minute, watching the clock in order to leave in time to keep another engagement punctually. The difference between the rancher and the city man is that while they are both subject to the same standardizing influences of the machine-made environment, the city man is under more varied and constant stimulation. The differences wrought in the personalities of the two by this varied stimulation are the subject of Part III. The rancher and the city man may each have the telephone, radio, newspaper, prepared foods, and tailor-made clothes as well as the automobile, but while these man-made equipments merely figure in the environment of the rancher, they constitute almost the whole of the environment of the city man. The former can at least tread the earth and view the firmament; the other cannot touch the earth, except in the shape of pavement, and is rarely conscious of the sky.

Standardization of Personality

Whatever we may find about the personality of the city man or the groups to which he attunes his life, it seems evident from the first superficial observation that his adjustments, aside from undirected struggles, are efforts at a social evolution. The standardization of the machine-age, although brought about by a process of indirection, is in essence a drift toward stabilization. The city-dweller is caught in a whirl of mechanisms and mechanized systems that both disturb and help him in making adjustments to his environment, and his is no simple environment, including nature, his own developments, and other people. What he achieves in accommodating himself is an aggregate of coördinated or mechanized behavior responses. His environment having been disturbed by the invasion of the machine, he is effecting standardization and mechanization as a means of returning to the

normal. This tendency to return to equilibrium is one of the most persistent facts of nature. It is evident in every phase of plant and animal life. Some observers of the present trends look optimistically to the machine to hasten this balance of things. Not the least of the optimists is Henry Ford:

> Machinery is accomplishing in the world what man has failed to do by preaching, propaganda, or the written word. The airplane and radio know no boundary. They pass over the dotted lines on the map without heed or hindrance. They are binding the world together in a way no other systems can. The motion picture with its universal language, the airplane with its speed, and the radio with its coming international program — these will soon bring the whole world to a complete understanding. Thus may we vision a United States of the World. Ultimately it will surely come! [13]

This enthusiasm for a unified world where harmony prevails is also the anticipation of a world attuned to machines where thinking and conduct are standardized. The "complete understanding" that Mr. Ford predicts will be the frictionless fitting together of the now scattered parts of human society into a smoothly functioning mechanism.

Basically, standardization and the use of mechanisms are devices of economy. In nature, when the behavior patterns of a species are disturbed, a period of chaos follows, and finally there is a settling back to stabilization. Under no conditions does stabilization endure. If the environment does not change, the demands of the species for food increase, or the nature of the species changes. In any case, new behavior patterns are imperative, and a new life orientation of the species must follow. This is essentially what has happened with man. The increase in population has enlarged his demands upon the environment; the state of his arts has changed with the introduction of the machine, greatly facilitating his struggle with the environment; and, because of his cultural changes, his demands upon the environment have become more varied. Changes in environment, formerly made by nature, have now, in the large city, come to be made almost wholly

by man through the arts, at the penalty of losing him no small part of his cultural antecedents.

Mechanization of Education

Finally, the machine leaves its mark not only upon his physical environment, upon the standardized goods he consumes, upon his reading matter, his recreational life, and in other such obvious matters, but the whole modern program of education becomes itself a standardized and standardizing system. The public schools of a great city, if for no other reasons than for economy and smoothness of routine management, have become huge mechanisms. Efficiency in organization leaves them no choice but to become regimentalized until the head of the system can look at the schedule any hour of the day and know what lesson is being taught in any schoolroom in the city.

In most school systems and between-school systems this standardization is studiously sought after. That credits may be transferred from one school to another, from high school to college throughout the whole country it is necessary that credits be uniform and that courses be standardized. All of this adds to the general sweep of standardization that is being ushered in by the machine.

> It is now quite possible, in fact it probably has been done, for a boy to go straight through from his letter blocks to his Ph.D. with precisely the same kind of coöperation in the enterprise on his part that a sardine furnishes to the business of his translation from the state of innocence and freedom of his birthplace to the diploma-bearing tin on the grocer's shelf.[14]

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Read carefully chapter XXX, vol. II, entitled "The Machine Age," in *The Rise of American Civilization*, by Charles and Mary Beard. Upon the basis of this chapter, design a chronological chart, depicting the spread of machines in the United States.

2. Discuss the seventeenth-century thinkers mentioned by Whitehead in terms of the contribution of each to the development of science and scientific thinking.

3. In discussing some of the fruits of the machine, E. E. Fournier D'Albe (*Quo Vadimus*, page 35 [Dutton]) writes: "The social life of a person is roughly measured by the number of people with whom he converses in the course of a day. Improved transport means facilities for increasing this number." Discuss this statement in qualitative terms.

4. One of the questions frequently discussed from the psychological and sociological points of view is the loss of craftsmanship through the spread of machines. In John Gloag's volume called *Artifex or the Future of Craftsmanship* (Dutton), it is contended that machines are creating a new and higher level of craftsmanship. Discuss this problem in terms of the following quotations:

(a) "A man whose job consists of turning out chair-legs by the hundred with the help of an intricate but wonderfully planned machine has more interest in the tool and less in the material he is handling than his eighteenth-century forerunner who day by day made chair-legs with deftly handled tools, guided by a close sympathy with, and knowledge of, the wood he was working." — page 85.

(b) "The real craftsmen, those who worship fine workmanship and are sincere and honest in the love of their craft, are mistaken in their renunciation of their own time. There is about their creed something of the intolerant snobbishness of the type of artist who regards art as a thing apart from life; something fine and exclusive, secure from the mob, the common and uncultivated herd. The real craftsmen will do great service not only to their craft but to their kind if they will help to bring within the reach of many qualities and beauties in everyday things hitherto unsuspected or denied. The linking of hand-craft and machine-craft and the active discouragement of the irresponsible amateur will help progress and increase the understanding of what craftsmanship means to mankind." — pages 55–56.

5. Make an analysis of some complicated machine, such as a rotary printing press, in terms of the six machines mentioned by D'Albe.

6. List the great inventions of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries chronologically, and according to countries. Consider these inventions in terms of their sociological correlates.

7. In what sense may it be said that the machine was responsible for the so-called World War of 1914–1918?

8. Analyze the standardized products to be found in several local shops. Discuss the relation between standardization and advertising.

9. Samuel Gompers, late president of the American Federation of Labor, conceded certain beneficial aspects of machine advance but denounced some of its consequences. At the fortieth anniversary meeting of the American Society of Engineers, 1920, speaking of craftsmanship and its supplanting by machine-processes, he said: "This process, however, has been carried entirely too far, for in many places the man has become a human connecting link in a machine and mastered by it instead of controlling the machine itself, as he did with the tools that he used in the old days. The result is that today men's work tends to become mere toil, so it seems to me that the task that lies before us is to develop a definite kind of working environment which will be attractive and which will inspire rather than repulse the workman. The work itself must become of central concern. This cannot be brought about unless the man finds the opportunities for self-expression in the day's work and a chance to exercise his creative impulses." Discuss this point of view in terms of actual developments.

10. Enumerate the mechanical devices utilized in a modern apartment house.

11. Discuss the various accommodations which the retail trade has made to mass production and standardized commodities.

12. Discuss the various movements which indicate that human beings resent and resist the standardizing process.

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. *Science and the Modern World,* A. N. Whitehead, p. 56 (New York, 1925).
2. *Science and Human Affairs,* W. C. Curtis, p. 106 (New York, 1922).
3. "When Mass Production Stalls," Paul U. Kellog, *Survey Graphic,* March, 1928.
4. *Hephaestus, or The Soul of the Machine,* E. E. Fournier D'Albe, pp. 11–12, (New York, 1927).
5. Same, pp. 12–14
6. Same, p. 61.
7. Same, pp. 65–66.
8. *Oroboros, or The Mechanical Extension of Mankind,* Garet Garrett, p. 18 (New York, 1927).

9. "Standardization of Parts in House Construction," D. K. Boyd, *Proc. National Conf. on Housing*, 1920.
10. "How Standardization Helps and Hinders," Stuart Chase and F. J. Schlink, *New Republic*, Feb. 27, 1927.
11. *The Distributive Age*, Ralph Borsodi, Chap. XV (New York, 1927).
12. "Sat. Eve. Post," Leon Whipple, *Survey Graphic*, p. 714, Mar. 1928.
13. "Machinery, The New Messiah," Henry Ford, *Forum*, pp. 363–364, March, 1928.
14. *To Begin With*, Raymond Pearl, p. 14, Knopf, 1927.

PART III

URBAN PERSONALITIES AND TYPES

X. The City as Dynamic Stimulus
XI. The Urban Personality
XII. Urban Social Types
XIII. Occupational Types
XIV. Divergent Urban Groups

X

INTRODUCTION

The forms and the functions of social entities determine the end-products. From the sociological point of view the most important aspect of urban life is its human or social results, the kinds of human individuals and associations of individuals which emerge from its processes.

In psychological language, the city may be viewed as a complex of stimuli calling forth definite kinds of responses. Our quest is to discover whether or not these specific stimuli tend to produce by some process of selection an urban type of personality. By the same token, if a variant personality type is produced, it is to be expected that such personalities will form types of associations or groups. This search leads us more directly to those socio-psychological factors which the social sciences choose as their subject-matter. Only in societal relationships do individuals become social beings. Human nature is acquired, differing in individuals, relatively uniform within kindred groups but changing from one environment to another. What observable changes are implied in this area of human nature because of the dynamic stimulus of the city? If we find it possible to discover clues looking toward an answer to this query, we shall be equipped with the preliminary knowledge necessary for rearing a sociological study of urban life. The behavior of individuals and groups within the total urban pattern is our concern in the ensuing five chapters which constitute Part III.

THE CITY AS DYNAMIC STIMULUS

Human Adaptability

The term "human nature" has acquired so many popular connotations that it does not yield readily to definition. "Human nature never changes," says the cynic, but he expresses only a non-scientific aphorism. To assume that human nature does not change is to deny adaptability through the influence of the environment. Why admit this adaptability of all other animals and deny it to man? The truth seems to be that man, like all other organisms, acts, and in acting both he and his environment are changed. Human nature is a generic term used to indicate that group of characteristic responses, traits, abilities, and aspirations which in conjunction describe the constant aspects of man in a changing environment. These traits, when conjoined, may be used to differentiate man from other animals. Since man has evolved, these so-called constant traits are only relatively constant: "development, it turns out, is a continual adjustment to environment."[1] Since man has developed, he must also have changed. Both the organism and the environment are changed in interaction and adjustment, and consequently we speak with some confidence of the "alterability of human nature."[2]

Out of the social situation in which he finds himself, man acquires his human nature, reconstructing it as the situation changes. In his human relations, he is constantly being "met and answered, opposed and blamed, praised and encouraged." But the nature of the answers, praise, blame, etc., changes and so must his responses. He necessarily achieves a capacity for change, a trait that is most highly adapted in the human organism. "The

human being," says Dewey, "differs from the lower animals in precisely the fact that his native activities lack the complex ready-made organization of the animals' original abilities." [3] Hocking adds: "Nature has made us; social action and our own efforts must continually remake us." [4]

Environment and Human Nature

A change in human nature is essentially a change in behavior, attitudes, or in the operation or form of human institutions—a cultural as distinguished from a biological modification. To use specific sociological terms, it is an accommodation rather than an adaptation, the word used to describe change in the biological or physical realm. Biologically, man changes slowly, if at all, but the environment is always changing, and he is forced to make some adjustment to it, to re-orient himself—usually a cultural or behavior change. The rate of change in the environment is often very great and obviously greater than that for organisms. The pioneer cuts away the forest, builds houses, grows crops, and domesticates animals. The environment has been radically modified, his struggle for living in the changed environment has been altered materially, although fundamentally his inner nature may not have changed appreciably. In fact, his deeper cultural nature has been modified so little that the change is likely to be overlooked entirely. Thus the opinion that human nature does not change becomes general. When viewed in the larger perspective there can be no doubt that changes in man himself have taken place. No longer responding to the same objects in the environment, his behavior must be different. In short, organisms act; they must act in order to live, and change is imperative in the economy of this struggle for life. Environment and organisms are inter-active, inter-related, and both are always changing. To act is to change.

But the organism neither acts nor changes unless it is stimulated either by some object of the environment or by some change within itself. In a relatively static environment, human

nature will normally change little. Conversely, in a fluctuating environment where objects are constantly being replaced and movements are ever shifting, we may expect more rapid changes.

Movement in the City

As a setting in which human organisms live, the city makes, among others, the following demands which combine to form a stimulating environment to which man can adjust himself only by learning new modes of behavior: (a) it demands more rapid movements on the part of its inhabitants; (b) it increases the number and variety of contacts or physical stimulations with a corresponding increase of secondary social contacts; (c) it calls for a varying quality in social relationships; (d) the struggle for status intensifies competition; (e) the city uses more of the learned and fewer of the native capacities; (f) aggregate life necessitates changing standards and values. In the succeeding chapter we shall examine some of these changes by contrasting the urban with the rural type of personality.

Geologists and biologists can furnish ample evidence of the dynamic quality of the natural environment. And the city — the natural environment plus man's own constructions upon it — is doubly dynamic. Add to that the presence of his fellowmen, and the movement of urban life becomes intense, making the environment of the city-dweller a veritable vortex. The movement and the mass of the city has been described with beauty and insight in Dreiser's essay, "The City Awakes":

> . . . A vast silent mass it is, marching to the music of necessity. They are so grimy, so mechanistic, so elemental in their movements and needs. And later on you will find them seated or standing, with their little charcoal buckets or braziers to warm their hands and feet, in those gusty, icy streets of the East Side in winter, or coatless and almost shirtless in the hot weather, open-mouthed for the want of air.
>
> Since these are but a portion, think of those other masses that come from the surrounding territory, north, south, east, and west. The ferries

— have you ever observed them in the morning? Or the bridges, railway terminals, and every elevated and subway exit?

Already at six and six-thirty in the morning they have begun to trickle small streams of human beings Manhattan or cityward, and by seven and seven-fifteen these streams have become sizeable affairs. By seven-thirty and eight they have changed into heavy, turbulent rivers, and by eight-fifteen and eight-thirty and nine they are raging torrents, no less. They overflow all the streets and avenues and every available means of conveyance. They are pouring into all available doorways, shops, factories, office-buildings — those huge affairs towering so significantly above them. Here they stay all day long, causing those great hives and their adjacent streets to flush with a softness of color not indigenous to them, and then at night, between five and six, they are all going again, pouring forth over the bridges and through the subways and across the ferries and out on the trains, until the last drop of them appears to have been exuded, and they are pocketed in some outlying side-street or village or metropolitan hall-room — and the great, turbulent night of the city is on once more.[5]

The process of pouring some two million people daily into a few square miles and emptying them out again at night is stupendous. Yet the problems it involves must somehow be grasped if the student of urban life is to gain any adequate interpretation of the significance of the city as a center of dynamic stimulus; millions of people hurrying hither and yon in feverish haste, bumping against one another without speaking. In the midst of this impersonal but stimulating *milieu*, each human being is physically impinged upon during the course of a day by thousands of others. Speed of movement and stimulation are apparent but appear to be confined to the physical level.

The Time Factor and Speed

Speed of movement is one of the criteria by which the city selects its inhabitants; the human organisms which become adjusted to its demands, or that survive best, are those capable of responding in some organized fashion to the increase in rapidity and intensity of stimuli. The intensity and rapidity of movement

in great urban centers often impress the less mobile visitor as being hurry without purpose, intensity without meaning, a sort of nervous response to stimuli which possess no rational meaning for those responding. For example, working hours over, the city people who pass along the great avenues still retain to some degree the intensity of countenance and rapidity of pace which marked their working period. There appears to be something almost grimly necessitous about city life and its movement, but the outsider fails to comprehend what drives the city-dwellers on. He doesn't understand why the city man will rush across the street in front of speeding traffic, darting here and there as though his life depended upon getting somewhere, and on the next block wait an hour to see a parade pass. The outsider does not see the multiple stimuli in all their complex relationships that underlie the seemingly turbulent activity, and consequently a great deal of urban hustle and scramble seems to him to be motion without direction, haste without goal. But let this critic attempt to live and earn his livelihood in an urban environment and within a very short time he will have developed similar habits of urgency and speed. Suburban dwellers who come in by train, bus, and ferry in the early morning unconsciously respond, quickening their pace the moment they merge with the crowd of the city.

A large portion of this dynamic quality is, of course, traceable to the fact that people are not able to live near their places of work, or near the centers of recreation. They have to travel to work and to play so that large sectors of the waking hours of the day must be spent in getting to and from places. The early hours of the morning, and the late afternoon, are sharply divided into time-space arrangements dependent upon transportation facilities. If the train which will land the worker at his place of business leaves at 8:49, he must be at the station on the minute even though he runs with breakfast uneaten, for the next train is scheduled to meet the requirements of a group of a different economic status. In other words, the sheer necessity of transporting oneself from one spot to another involves quick responses to

numerous stimuli; being founded upon mechanisms, the transportation system is inelastic; and its users must make adjustments to its rigidities. The proverb: "Time and tide wait for no man," finds in the relentless movements of the urban mechanisms an extreme application. The trend in all growing cities is to push residence and business centers farther and farther apart; this implies additional means of transportation and increased rates of speed, involving, of course, an increase in the number and variety of stimuli and consequently in the number and variety of responses.

Crowds and Social Stimulation

The factor in urban dynamics of greatest interest to the sociologist is inter-human stimulation. Riding on a subway train moving at a rapid rate is one kind of stimulation. But riding on a train crowded with people, all eager to arrive somewhere in the minimum of time, is another, and a more significant type of stimulation. Mechanical movement alone does not give the city its peculiar tempo; human movement is also stimulating. The paradoxical fact of the subway crowd (now becoming symbolic of urban drive) is that very little communication takes place between its units. People ride so closely packed together as to render individual movement impossible, but they do not speak. They are not unaware of each other, but their mutual influence is transmitted without direct communication. Physically they are jammed against one another to the point of discomfort, and not so much as by the glance of an eye do they draw near to each other as social beings. When the doors spring back and the crowd pushes toward the exits, the person who has time to spare finds himself unaccountably rushing on with the others. This is what is often meant by the expression, "being swallowed up in the city," namely, responding and contributing to the dynamic spirit of the city without comprehending its meaning.

Any responses of the average person to these stimuli, although they may be habitual and unconscious, are none the

less social. The person walking along the crowded street reading a paper may not be consciously noting the crowd, yet subconsciously he is responding to it. In like manner and to an equal extent the crowd is aware of him. This social seclusion which those composing the crowd share is a reward for a uniform appearance. Let a man break into this protecting anonymity by appearing on the street with a straw hat a day earlier than the custom permits, and he at once becomes conspicuous. Some people are so conscious of and sensitive to being conspicuous that they spend much time in studied efforts to act and look inconspicuous and yet be in the mode. For them the crowd remains a dynamic stimulus. On the other hand, some succeed in becoming so oblivious of the crowd that they move through it talking or even singing to themselves. Someone has made the significant observation that on the whole, although the crowd will jeer or cheer readily, it is none the less tolerant in the long run. As a result, courting in the city is less repressed, lovers being more demonstrative on the boulevards and at amusement places where crowds foregather than they would think of being in rural sections where they would retire from the gaze of the neighbors.

Increase in Urban Contacts

The city provides an ever-increasing number of stimuli through direct contact between persons, for urban life entails communication between widening circles of people. True, this interaction and communication become less and less personal as the city increases in size. Important communications are often conducted over the telephone and people who are extremely significant to each other may seldom meet in an intimate way. Stimulating and responding to each other through impersonal media of communication, it is not necessary, for practical purposes, that they meet. Knowing and responding to each other with reference to specific interests, they remain strangers in other respects. Numerous stories bordering on the fantastic are told to

emphasize this growing impersonality of human relations in large centers of population. For example, two professional social workers met and found common interests at a vocational conference in a middle-western state. Only when starting home did they discover that both had offices in the same building in New York, and lived in the same suburb. Conscious of the increase of anonymity and of the passing of the old neighborliness, attempts are being made to revive it in such "service clubs" as Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Exchange, Zonta and many similar organizations.

During the span of an average day the city-dweller is likely to communicate directly with from twenty to a hundred different persons in the regular routine of his business. For their self-protection, professional and business people surround themselves with secretaries who read their mail, sift their telephone calls, even make their appointments. Stimulations pour in so fast that they have to resort to such outer organization to assist them in maintaining a controlled relation to the stimuli. In all his contacts, the city-dweller is being stimulated and disturbed more and more, and this tends to accelerate his movement. Burgess notes in this connection the increase in contacts through the mails and telephone:

> While the increase of population of Chicago in 1912–1922 was less than twenty-five per cent (23.6%), the increase of letters delivered to Chicagoans was double that (49.6%) — (from 693,084,196 to 1,038,007,854). In 1912 New York had 8.8; in 1922, 16.9 per 100 population. Boston had in 1912, 10.1 telephones; ten years later, 19.5 telephones per 100 inhabitants. In the same decade the figures for Chicago increased from 12.3 to 21.6 per 100 population. But increase of the use of the telephone is probably more significant than increase in the number of telephones. The number of telephone calls in Chicago increased from 606,131,982 in 1914 to 944,010,586 in 1922, an increase of 55.7 per cent, while the population increased only 13.4 per cent.[6]

The slogan of the telephone company is "Be There By Telephone," and telegraph companies advertise, "Don't Write, Telegraph." So, instead of writing on "Mother's Day," or at New

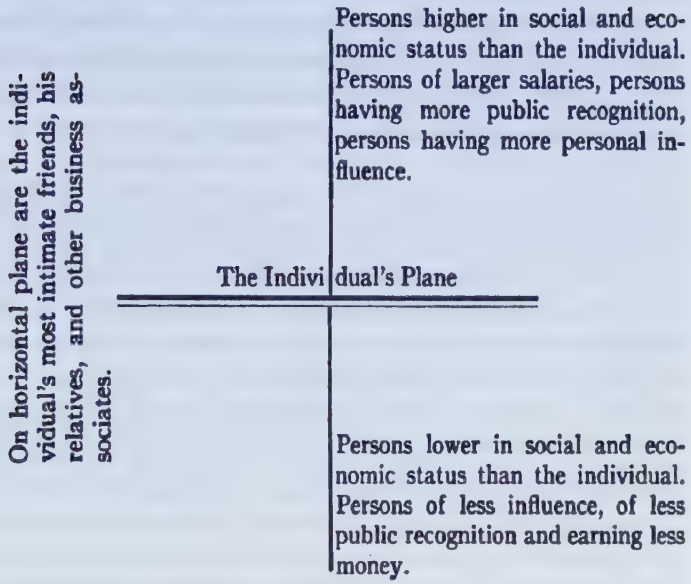
Year's time, one can simply order a form message by number, thus saving time and thought. The radio, the telephone, the telegraph, and the mail are devices for *being there;* indispensable mobility adaptations to the demands of increasing stimuli. Contrasted with the human contacts of the farmer who may live for days without seeing anyone outside his family circle, and for hours without communicating with any other living thing save animals, it becomes clear that this dynamic resultant of numerous human contacts in the city needs to be understood.

Levels of Intimacy

It is not merely the number but also the variety of human contacts which gives city life its peculiar flavor. Human relations in any community, in direct proportion to its size, tend to become vertical; that is, people associate in their secondary relationships (though impersonally) in varying degrees of familiarity. They live together as fellow-functionaries, and in their occupational or formal relationships are mutually interdependent. Though these relationships may have no social intimacy, the levels on the vertical scale do tend to be social planes. Every individual finds himself at some level of the vertical scale, and at whatever point that plane might be he has other human relations that tend to be horizontal. On this plane he meets his friends, neighbors, relatives. While on the vertical scale he is separated from other classes or levels by being of lower status than some or of higher status than others, on the horizontal scale he is only separated from others of the same plane by degrees of intimacy.

To illustrate the differences between vertical and horizontal social contacts the diagram at top of next page is offered:

The object of this diagram is to indicate social distance in terms of intimacy along the horizontal plane and in terms of social class, social caste or status along the vertical line.[7] In any society these social demarcations of the people are generally unmistakably drawn. Not only do they exist in the great city but


Persons higher in social and economic status than the individual. Persons of larger salaries, persons having more public recognition, persons having more personal influence.
The Individual's Plane
On horizontal plane are the individual's most intimate friends, his relatives, and other business associates.
Persons lower in social and economic status than the individual. Persons of less influence, of less public recognition and earning less money.

the tendency is for groups and classes to multiply without end; the individual is ever moving up or down the vertical line from one plane to another, ever struggling to acquire status in this or that group. But the city also provides and indeed necessitates an increasing number of human contacts which may be said to be horizontal. One sees more people who are somewhat like oneself, and also more who are somewhat different in occupation and interests. No abrupt adjustments are needed in vertical relations; the person who enlarges his circle of interests and personal contacts must, however, be versatile; he must be continually alert to the kinds of responses demanded by the stimulation flowing from vertically separated personalities. At one moment he is responding to stimuli projected into his behavior by the ice-man or the postman, and at the next moment he is called upon to respond to his business or professional associate. Obviously the very compulsion of numbers makes it impossible for him to be equally personal and intimate in his horizontal responses. Impersonality of human relations becomes, therefore,

a natural resultant of city life. Like habit formation in general, it is in fact a form of economy. Those unfamiliar with the processes are often inclined to think of the city as a place of brusque, cold, and harsh human relations because they see this manifestation of impersonality only on the horizontal level.

> Almost every encounter of an impersonal nature in New York is pitched in the tone of an unnatural and defensive harshness. However mannered and gentle a man may be in his personal life, in his community life he is rude. I have stood on the street a great many times, chatting with some delightful and merry fellow, to see him grow suddenly grim and fierce at some chance contact with a passerby — a messenger boy whose weaving course brought him into too close proximity, or a mere pedestrian struggling with the intricacies of sidewalk traffic. Of course, in the case of this delightful and otherwise merry fellow, his rudeness is not native. It is an acquired defense — or rather an acquired instinct to prevent him from being placed upon the defensive. He has learned that to avoid harsh and overt verbal assaults, he must be the first to make them. The tone, as it were, of the city affects even the most remote and thoughtful people. They take their street manners from the street manners themselves.[8]

There is, nevertheless, the obverse side of this social picture. City people are at the same time more personal and more impersonal in human relations. Since the city furnishes more stimuli to action, and fewer restraints, human associations may progress more rapidly and freely. On the level of vertical social contacts, an urban acquaintance may suddenly burst into intimacy; in the smaller communities the same relationships would evolve slowly, or not at all. This is to be expected where people meet in reference to interests instead of space relations. If propinquity made neighbors, the subway crowd would evolve into something different from what it is.

Concentration of Specialists

Perhaps the greatest dynamic stimulus in urban life accompanies competitive human relations. Competition reaches its

extreme intensities in the modern city. Status, except for those who come fortuitously into prominence, is achieved only by a struggle which brings people into closest and most stimulating relations. In professions, for example, where specialization is greatest, and therefore competition keenest, the foci of the struggle are in the large cities. For instance, if a farmer wants to consult a great specialist in any professional field, he must journey to the city. This tendency to specialize, which has always been characteristic of cities, is causing some students of urban life considerable worry. Of this group, Ellsworth Huntington has been studying the distribution of leaders listed in *Who's Who*. Taking ten states where the total population is about half rural (living in towns under 2,500), and half urban (living in towns over 2,500), and beginning with the assumption that if things were equal there should be just as many *Who's Who* people distributed among the rural as among the urban population, he analyzed fourteen leadership groups. The following table shows the percentage in each that might be identified with the rural sections:

Medicine	3 per cent
Law	3 per cent
Engineering	4 per cent
Music	5 per cent
Business	5 per cent
Journalism	6 per cent
Science	6 per cent
Art	8 per cent
Religion	8 per cent
Philanthropy	9 per cent
Literature	9 per cent
Education	11 per cent
Government	15 per cent
Agriculture	20 per cent [9]

Obviously "if these districts are to hold their own," a larger proportion of each of these leadership groups should be in the rural districts. What Huntington calls the "rural district's fair

share" of leadership is in the city; that, he assumes, is a sign of decay of the social order. To others this unequal distribution is a mark of strength. Huntington's study should be supplemented by a survey of the distribution of all doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc. The point that he fails to recognize is that the specialist serves a great many people scattered over a large area, and for their convenience as well as for his own economic advantage it is imperative that he locate centrally. Since the city is the control center of large-scale production, how could the bankers, brokers, importers, wholesalers, department-store heads, mail-order-house heads, and other leaders in business be advantageously scattered in proportion to the population? Many of these specialists, particularly in the field of art and science, must gather where wealth accumulates. How could the musician or the artist survive without the patronage of wealth? In ancient and medieval cities art found refuge in the courts of royalty; today it retreats to the galleries and salons of the well-to-do.

From the point of view of stimulation, this concentration of leaders from the country in the city is significant because it makes the city the mecca and the market for all types of specialists and those who aspire to be specialists. Here they foregather, and, in their ever-narrowing circles, struggle for professional and social prestige. In all other lines of endeavor, the movement of the expert and specialist tends to be from the smaller towns of less competition (and less opportunity) to larger towns of intense competition (and greater opportunity).

Country and City Values

In these tense competitive situations the naïve and easy-going are quickly eliminated. At least those traits of personality which serve so well in the smaller community, being praised or valued for their intrinsic character, receive a new test in the city. If they are not eliminated in the struggle it is because they have some survival value. When people live in these compact

and densely-populated areas — and being highly specialized they would have difficulty in living elsewhere — achievement often breaks over from the less stimulating purely competitive form into the more stimulating form of social conflict.

The farmer struggles against the forces of nature calmly and with stoic resignation. Living near to nature, he accepts her discipline as a matter of course. The city-dweller is detached. His struggle for status, involving other human beings, becomes a counter-stimulant developing into habits of restlessness, of brisk aggressiveness, and constant vigilance. His contacts in the feverish struggle for status are dynamic. The prizes which the city has to offer, even the most ordinary, that insure any degree of status, are much sought after; and the city-dweller, if he survives, dares not trust himself to anything that resembles rural calmness and stoic resignation.

Whether the values involved in the struggle for status in the city are worth the effort is, of course, open to question. Certainly it is true that spurious, superficial status can be more easily achieved in the large metropolitan center than in smaller communities. In one sense a large city appears to be a gigantic conspiracy in which everyone seeks elevation to higher status, and in which a process known as "pull" operates to a considerable extent. The great fortunes tend city-ward and, for the most part, are there inherited, and wealth is the surest road to urban status. College fraternities often perpetuate a variety of favoritism in which the successful man selects a fraternity-brother in preference to another candidate regardless of relative worth. Likewise, the city is filled with small cliques — political, commercial, professional, artistic, social — within which "pull" operates.

This does not mean, as many critics imply, that the city frowns on ability, that it is wholly unfair to the genius without friends at court. Ability has its day in the city, although it often pines in neglect; but so does it in the rural sections, particularly in those countries where primogeniture prevails. However it is achieved and whatever its nature, urban status emerges from and

is retained through struggle, which, involving such an expenditure of energy, would be regarded under other circumstances as quite superficial and meaningless.

Man-made as it is and remote from nature, the city uses fewer of the native behavior responses and more of the learned or acquired ones. In fact, urban life is from one point of view a continuous acquiring of new ways of reacting to new situations. City-dwellers have their habit systems as well as country folk, but outside this area of habits lies an ever-increasing circle of experience demanding new responses. In itself this is of sufficient importance to show how much more the city demands of the organism in the way of adjustment and re-adjustment. In communities of lesser stimulation it becomes possible to arrive at some kind of equilibrium; in the city there is no equilibrium, unless it be the most transient and fleeting. There is no moment when the city-dweller may rely wholly upon a habit system to provide the proper responses to the total environment. The total environment is man-made by a large proportion over the rural environment. Much more of it is social than in the rural situation, which means that the city man is responding to and stimulating more people. Much of his behavior is at the point of habit formation, and hence must be creative. Recognizing the extent to which the man in town is under the necessity of constantly re-adapting himself, some theorists have deduced numerous explanations of the rate of nervous and mental diseases incident to urban life. The strain and stress of the city are often spoken of in terms that lead one to believe that man has not yet learned how to live an urban life and at the same time maintain a normal state of sanity and health. Comparative figures do not as yet offer anything like conclusive evidence on this score.

The End-Products

The returns from the census of 1910, for example, indicate that in cities of 500,000 population and over, commitments

to hospitals for the insane amounted to 102.8 per 100,000, whereas the comparative figure for rural communities was 41.4, and for villages and small towns of between 2500 and 10,000 population, it was 70.2 per 100,000. The 1920 census showed a ratio of 41 rural to 79 urban patients in hospitals for mental diseases.[10] But the implication is misleading for two reasons: first, a larger proportion of people are committed to hospitals for mental disease in all urban centers because these institutions are of urban origin, and generally speaking, are still more numerous in cities. It is the urban way of meeting the problem. In rural communities a prejudice still lingers against allowing anyone to be sent to an institution of any sort. Second, urban communities provide methods for detecting and committing persons with insane tendencies, who might live indefinitely in smaller communities without detection, for those of insane tendencies do lose control more easily in the highly complex urban environment. Strain demands an increasing number of learned responses and fewer "instinctive" or habitual responses, all of which requires an organic flexibility.

Likewise the morals of the city are dynamic. Indeed, experimentation in the realm of ethics is always going on in cities and its spread toward the periphery invariably leads to conflict because villagers and country people are intolerant of any experimentation in the sphere of morals. Some critics believe that this is the underlying explanation of the countryman's resentment against the city; namely, that in the swirling aggregate life of the great city, values are less rigid, the conventions lose their sanctity, and one finds greater freedom to live as one wishes. This opinion has become ingrained in the American folklore: to go to the city for a so-called "spree" implies that these periodic visits offer the opportunity for doing in the moral sphere what would not be countenanced at home. This is not the place to comment upon the integrity of the changing morals of urban communities; our aim is merely to point out the fact of ethical relativity, and to derive therefrom whatever corollaries will aid in

an understanding of the city and its life. In a social environment with more or less fixed ethical values there is little call for moral adjustments, and little thought is given to the matter except as moral change encroaches upon it from a more dynamic environment. Whether or not this slight demand for moral adjustment is a total gain or a loss depends somewhat upon the psychological formula with which conduct is measured. Lack of moral experimentation, which may be the rule in relatively static communities, may lead to a kind of inner suppression which will in due time claim its penalty. In other words, liberty requires a bond, but repression lays a penalty. Here as elsewhere in the consideration of human problems, one must ultimately rely upon conceptions which view the human organism as a changing entity within a changing environment.[11] Life takes on meaning and makes self-created purposes valid when changes in both the organism and environment are complementary. With its rapid movement and incessant demand for quick adjustments the city must produce considerable irrationality, but it also gives the life of man a dynamic setting. Whenever large cities arise in any civilization, new modes of behavior follow, new personality types emerge, new forms of social organization come into existence, and new social and moral values arise. The nature of these end-products of urban culture will be dealt with in succeeding chapters.

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In what sense may the aphorism " Human nature never changes " be said to be true? False?

2. E. B. Holt, in his *Freudian Wish* (p. 167), says: " Behavior is any process of release which is a function of factors external to the mechanism released." " Factors external to the mechanism " may be taken to include what is called environment in this text. Discuss urban behavior in terms of this definition, with special reference to the changing urban environment.

3. Trace some single function of the city (such as sewage collection and disposal, milk supply, etc.) in such detail as to indicate all

of the coördinating factors. From the point of view of the necessary order which must accompany city life, is it permissible to call the city an organism?

4. Devise various methods for depicting the city-dweller's compulsion to obey the clock. Plan time-schedules which will indicate the activities of a day for a few types of city residents, or suggest a method for observing this time element in other ways.

5. Make observations, or devise methods of making observations of the variety of human contacts encountered by a city-dweller in given periods of time.

6. In city life persons may live at one place, work at another, and find their recreations and amusements at still another. This means that residence recedes as a factor in interpreting personality. And, as residence recedes, the personality becomes more and more anonymous. Is this anonymity an asset or a liability for urban life? People often resist anything which tends to destroy this form of urban isolation. Why? Is urban anonymity related to crime and vice?

7. What significance may be attached to the fact that the number of telephone calls, telegrams, or letters increases more rapidly than the rate of increase of the population?

8. In this chapter a distinction is made between vertical and horizontal human relationships. Vertical contacts are those maintained with persons on differing levels of social standing, occupation, character, etc.; horizontal contacts are those which may be said to be a mere extension of the same sorts of contacts already established. Diagram several personalities from this point of view. Also, devise some other graphic form for illustrating this same distinction.

9. C. H. Cooley writes: "We are dependent for moral health upon intimate association with a group of some sort, usually consisting of our family, neighbors, and other friends." (*Social Process*, p. 180) These groups are commonly called "primary". Study some sector of the urban population to determine what proportion of its members are able to enjoy primary-group relations.

10. In the preceding chapter, this statement occurs: "Because of its rapid changes the city calls for fewer of the native behavior-responses and more of the learned or acquired ones." Discuss this statement in terms of a rural group, a village group, and an urban group.

11. "In history and social science we speak of the mode of life of this or that people as their culture." (*Man and Culture*, by Clark Wissler, p. 1) In this sense what are the distinctions between rural and urban cultures? Is the American mode of life being transformed from

a rural to an urban culture? What are the indications? What is the chief characteristic of urban culture?

12. "In whatever locality the comparison is made, cities outrank (in suicides) surrounding rural districts by about 30 per cent." ("Who Commits Suicide," by Ruth Shonle, *The Survey*, May 15, 1927.) Discuss this comparative statement in terms of urban dynamics and in terms of urban isolation.

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. "Heredity and Environment," by H. S. Jennings, *The Scientific Monthly*, Sept., 1924. Also see "The Individual and Environment from a Physiological Viewpoint," C. M. Child, in symposium *The Child, The Court and the Clinic*, pp. 126–154 (New York, 1925).
2. See *Human Nature and Conduct*, by John Dewey, pp. 14–17 (New York, 1922).
3. Same, p. 107.
4. *Human Nature and its Remaking*, by W. E. Hocking, p. 2 (New Haven, 1923).
5. *The Color of a Great City*, by Theodore Dreiser, pp. 5–7 (New York, 1923).
6. "The Growth of the City," by E. W. Burgess, in *The City*, R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, p. 60 (Chicago, 1926).
7. *Social Mobility*, by Pitirim Sorokin, Part II on "Social Circulation," (New York, 1927).
8. *The New Yorker*, October 22, 1927, p. 32.
9. "The Sifting Power of Great Cities," Ellsworth Huntington, *Scribners*, Sept., 1926, p. 320.
10. *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Diseases;* 1923, p. 14, U. S. Dept. of Commerce.
11. On the processes of habit formation in individuals and groups see *Source Book for Social Psychology*, by Kimball Young (New York, 1927).

    On the relation between experience and the formation of personality see, "A Theory of Personality," J. W. Bridges, *Jour. Abnormal and Social Psy.*, XX (1925–1926): 363–369.

XI

THE URBAN PERSONALITY

Behavior Patterns

The concept, personality, implies some sort of unity. Psychologists are inclined to define personality in terms of mental unity, physiologists in terms of organic unity, etc. The sociologist conceives of personality in dynamic and evolutionary terms; that is, the organism lives in and responds to environment, is constantly changing by its contacts with environment, and in fact becomes a creature of its environment.[1] Personality is, then, an integration of the individual's total responses to his total environment, being both an achieving and an achieved process.

In sociological terms personality is a combination of the individual's native and acquired traits; his "prepotent reflexes and his acquired behavior patterns." The sociologist recognizes personality as somewhat of an accumulation of experience. Allport says:

> Personality may be defined as an individual's characteristic reactions to social stimuli and the quality of his adaptation to the social features of his environment.[2]

This definition may be a trifle exclusive because, at least indirectly, personality also reflects the physical or natural environment; though even the physical environment, if the person can set up a stimulus-response relationship with it, as when a child talks to its doll, becomes social. Ordinarily, habit responses to weather, seasons, soil, topography, wind, fire, and such environmental facts also make people different. Thus we have such personality types as the mountaineer, the plainsman, the woodsman,

the fisherman, in contrast with the carpenter, electrician, or bricklayer of the city. Like other animals, human beings are compelled to adjust and orient themselves to a natural order, and this adjusting process has a double action: it conditions the behaving organism and at the same time alters the environment. Adjustment is *of* as well as *to*. The behavior of human beings differs from that of other animals precisely because the predominant responses result from social stimuli.

Personality and Social Environment

Personality is unique with individuals and uniform between individuals as, on the one hand, their personal experiences differ, and, on the other, as their total environments are comparable. The distinctions between personalities are evidences of differences in personality balance, strength and unity, but also of the vital differences in their social environments. For this discussion we may take the force of physical environment in personality formation for granted and at once turn to the more impelling social environments, in terms of which personality types are largely fashioned. According to Bernard, these types of social environment may be classified in terms of four general catagories:

1. Physico-social environments
   (1) Tools, (2) Weapons, (3) Ornaments, (4) Machines, (5) Transportation systems, (6) Communication systems, (7) Household equipment, (8) Office equipment, (9) Apparatus for scientific research, etc.
2. Bio-social environments
   A. Non-human
      (1) Domesticated plants used for food, clothing, shelter, medicines, ornaments, (2) Domestic animals used as a source of food, (3) Domestic animals used as a source of power, (4) Medicines and perfumes of an organic character, (5) Animals used as pets and ornaments, etc.
   B. Human
      (6) Human beings serving as laborers (slaves, etc.), (7) Human beings serving as ornaments, entertainers, etc., (8)

Human beings rendering impersonal voluntary or professional service, (9) Regimented human groups, such as armies, workingmen, etc., (10) Men coöperating voluntarily through the use of language mechanisms.

3. Psycho-social environments
   (1) The inner behavior (attitudes, ideas, desires, etc.) of individuals with whom we come in contact, (2) The uniformities of inner behavior occurring in collective units and perceived as customs, mores, etc., (3) Externalized language symbols used to project the above types of behavior and to condition responses in ourselves and others, (4) Those inventions, primarily physical, which perform a similar service in conditioning psychic responses, but usually with less facility and completeness.
4. Composite or institutionalized derivative control environments (derivative combinations of various types of environment organized for purposes of social control).
   A. General in character
      Economic, political, racial, esthetic, ethical, educational, etc., environments.
   B. Special in character
      The American, Italian, Jewish, Scandinavian, New England, Southern, Argentine, Republican, Democratic, Catholic, Buddhist, revolutionary, conservative, feminine, masculine, etc., environments.[3]

Behavior is a function of the environment, and personality is the differentiating focus of behavior. Consequently, personalities will vary with their environments, and social observers should be enabled upon the basis of any given environment-personality formula to make the same distinctions between personality types that can be made between environments. Glancing through the above list of environment categories, it at once becomes apparent that urban dwellers live in environments dominated by machines of various sorts, use plants and animals only in a secondary sense, and live in an interdependent complex of service relationships. Their psychic environment is increasingly dynamic; customs, traditions, mores, etc., play a diminishing rôle in their behavior, their derivative social controls are more varied and hence operate with greater flexibility. By analysis of these various environmental

factors we shall be able to describe the urban personality with greater facility.

Rural–Urban Type Contrasts

An urban-rural conflict has existed since the rise of cities, constituting a collective phenomenon and one of the problems which concerns sociologists. Many observers think that the urban-rural conflict of the future will be more intense than the historic economic class-conflict has been. In the United States the situation continually grows more serious, manifesting itself in politics, law-making, religion, education, culture, morals, and in multitudinous other ways besides in commerce and trade. This conflict between those who live on the land and those who live in the cities is at bottom a clash between personality traits, and its significance becomes clear only after we have explored the nature of some of the differences between the rural and urban personalities which are evolving in different ways, and which seem to be pursuing different goals. According to Coudenhove-Kalergi:

> The farmer lives in a symbiosis with the brute, with the living creature of God; he is an integral part of the landscape, depending upon the weather and the seasons. On the other hand, the center of the crystalization of the urban soul is society, and this society lives in a symbiosis with a machine, the dead creature of man. It is the machine that renders the townsman as independent as possible of time and space, of season and climate.[4]

A question might be raised on the last sentence just quoted. While the city-dweller may know little and care less about the phases of the moon or the turn of the weather, while he may have forgotten, if he ever knew them, the weather proverbs, still he becomes more and more the automaton of time arrangements and the victim of narrowing space arrangements. Obviously, his attitudes, ideas, beliefs, fears, etc., are going to be dominated by other than the elements of nature. Unconscious as he is of these controls, the city-dweller evolves a different personality. More-

over, as Coudenhove-Kalergi contends, country is separated from country, city from city, by space, but city is separated from country by tempo. The farmer and urbanite not only think in different terms; their thought processes go on at varying rates. Consequently, whenever a civilization is divided between country and city, a rural and an urban culture arises, defined by contrasting personality traits and types.

Rural Personality Traits

The farmer is serious-minded, realistic, individualistic, and in recent times has come to think of himself as inferior. Living in isolation or in varying degrees of detachment from social contacts, he lacks the technique of group life. But the farmer's serious-mindedness needs to be considered in terms of his peculiar sense of humor; he has not the urbanite's humor. His is a lasting humor; he laughs at the same incidents and the same anecdotes, week after week, and unlike the city-dweller who looks for a daily diet of new jokes, he does not demand a constantly changing object for humorous expression. He constructs a tradition of humor out of slight incidents in which almost every acquaintance figures in some way. His wit and humor flow from or toward specific persons, and he tells and re-tells the same stories about the same people. In none of his humor is there any pose of sophistication.

His realism in certain spheres is matched by a curious subjectivism in others; he is a realist with respect to the things which can be seen and handled but a mystic with respect to what lies beyond his immediate comprehension. His lack of regard for what happens to be the vogue is matched by a deep though inexpressible love of nature. His deficiency in coöperative technique is compensated by increased independence and a sense of individual responsibility. The farmer is markedly suspicious of the stranger and the strange but he is also credulous in queer ways. In his willingness to answer advertisements he is subject to a great

amount of fraud. But like other marks of the rural personality, these are the main currents and trends, not specific traits, and are only relatively valid. The rural personality is as much a variant as the urban, changing even in the isolation which was much more complete in the last century than in the present. Taylor says:

> The modern husbandman is as different from the traditional farmer of two decades ago as this traditional farmer was different from the backwoodsman who hewed his small farm out of the primeval forest and lived his life of sombre melancholy in proud isolation. Every step in the progress of farming has brought new methods of action and new modes of thought. The modern farmer does not live within isolation as a matter of pride. He seeks to overcome it. He does not trust to the signs of the moon for guidance but turns to the agricultural college experiment station, farm bulletin, and farm journal, for direction and assistance. He no longer farms only with the hoe, shovel and pitchfork, but with the tractor, self-binder and hay-loader. He no longer works sixteen hours a day and drags to bed too tired to think or even talk. He has his telephone, his daily paper, his automobile, his country and city neighbors, and his leisure time.[5]

Taylor may have painted too rosy a picture of the average farmer; nonetheless, the farmer does tend to approach the urbanite's mode of life and thought. He also is becoming a creature of the machine, and the machine is making him over, or to use an apt expression of William Allen White, "The farmer cut off his beard when he began to crank his Ford." The differences between city and country folks, however, are still significant, and are likely to continue as qualitative traits leading to misunderstanding and conflict.

Rural–Urban Antipathies

They blame each other mutually for panics, high prices, low prices, immorality, irreligion, and for various forms of brazenness and culpability. In the State of Washington the populous west slope is in conflict with the so-called "cow counties" of the rural east slope. The rural counties hold the balance of legislative

power and refuse to sanction representative re-apportionment which would undoubtedly vest the balance of power in the metropolitan area of Seattle where the population increase has been very rapid since the last apportionment. In Illinois and New York State similar governmental conflicts have arisen over the question of home rule. The rural representatives consistently refuse to grant the autonomous control over their populations which the cities demand. Indeed, in Chicago the leaders of the home-rule movement have gone so far as to threaten secession from the state, and the withholding of state taxes, unless they are granted a proportional urban representation. The cities of New Jersey are now so populous that they can easily outvote the counties.

Libertarian movements, movements of emancipation which challenge custom and tradition, usually arise in cities, and are frequently combatted as evil by the rural population. Most movements that stimulate change, that promise variety and new experience secure their support in urban areas. Fashions and fads spring from the dynamic life of urban communities. Thus feminism, bobbed hair, women in professions are city vogues. Political liberalism, birth control, and similar reforms originate and spread from urban centers. Liberal churches flourish in cities while conservative churches remain in the country. Here again certain reservations must be mentioned. Rural institutions and traits occasionally perpetuate themselves at the heart of urban communities. Evangelism, pietism, pentacostalism, and various forms of emotionalized religion, for example, thrive in cities together with a robust rationalism. Prohibition is usually attributed to the rural mind, but it is urban wealth which supports enforcement movements. The Ku Klux Klan is supposed to be of rural parentage but although its existence is usually more precarious and shorter in large cities, its largest membership is urban. Its secretiveness is more amenable to city conditions; on the other hand, its tenets, and some of its habits, suit the small rather than the large community. The hood and gown which provide anonymous excitement in the country do not offer much thrill to the

city-dweller who can enjoy anonymous status by simpler means. The American Legion finds its great strength in the small towns and villages where it plays a social rôle as well as acting as a vehicle of protest against many of the emancipation movements arising in the city.

One of the recent illustrations of rural-urban conflict has arisen from the farmer's demand for governmental assistance. The so-called McNary-Haugen bill, which was twice defeated in Congress, included provisions for stabilizing farm prices by adjusting the foreign to the domestic market, the margin of difference to be handled by a government commission supplied with government funds. In one sense, the net result of this measure would have been to offer the farmer an economic protection analogous to that now received by manufacturers through the tariff. In order to secure this, or some similar relief, the senators and representatives from the various agricultural states organized what the press has termed a " farm bloc ". Conservative urban business interests regarded the entire movement with alarm; it was called " un-American " and " radical ". Urban resentment during this period may be epitomized by quoting an editorial from a journal of urban sophistication:

> When the going is good for him he robs the rest of us up to the extreme limit of our endurance. When the going is bad he comes bawling for help out of the public till. Has anyone ever heard of a farmer making any sacrifice of his own interest, however slight, for the public good? Has anyone ever heard of a farmer advocating any political idea that was not absolutely self-seeking — that was not, in fact, designed to loot the rest of us to his gain? Greenbackism, free silver, government guarantee of prices, bounties on exports of foodstuffs, all the complex imbecilities of the cow state John Baptists. . . . They are willing and eager to pillage the rest of us by starving us, but they can't do it because they can't resist attempts to swindle each other. . . . It is among the country Methodists, practitioners of theology degraded to the level of voodooism, that Prohibition was invented, and it was by country Methodists, nine-tenths of them actual followers of the plow, that it was fastened on the rest of us, to the damage of our bank accounts. . . .[6]

Science and Rural–Urban Contrasts

The rôle of the social sciences is not to take sides in group conflicts, but merely to discover and analyze the casual factors involved, and to attempt measurements of intensity. Patently, the rural-urban conflict in America has reached the stage of high emotional tension. Editorials such as the above evidence the amount of heated feeling involved. The situation cannot be solved by praise or blame. To the contrary, it calls for calm and rational consideration in the mood of science rather than in that of the pulpit or platform. Rural sociologists have accomplished much in the way of revealing the social and psychological components of rural culture. A similar task confronts the urban sociologists. Unhappily at present only a small body of reliable research material exists for this purpose.[7]

In order to make comparisons thoroughly valid, it will be necessary to have reliable data on the varying traits of personality which result from rural and urban living, and which stand in opposition to one another, beginning with physiological and ending with psychological factors. Until this is done, there will be no means of measuring the social distance between rural and urban groups.[8] If, for example, country people are on the whole freer from disease and illness than city people, or vice versa, the effect will be manifest in conduct. Our present objective is, however, to determine insofar as possible the differences in personality traits, and we shall therefore utilize only socio-psychological categories.

Urban children develop more rapidly than rural children. According to Pyle, "at the age of eight the rural children are little over half as efficient as are city children and . . . as they grow older they approach nearer and nearer the efficiency of city children."[9] A partial explanation for the early divergence is, of course, the fact that country children on the whole receive a much lower grade of training; they are taught by inexperienced teachers and often under inadequate conditions. The fact that the rural

child of 13 and 14 years of age approximates the mental efficiency of the city child of the same age is partially explained by the learning contribution of accumulated experience and also on the ground that the dull children are more likely to drop out of school at this period in country districts. Similar results were obtained by Pressey and Thomas,[10] but they discovered too that the discrepancies grew less when the country children were selected from agricultural areas of higher economic status. Both studies revealed that the intelligence tests used were more suitable for the city than for the country child. It is, however, safe to assume that these tests do indicate a slightly lower rate of development for the rural child. The effect of this retardation on later personality development can only be guessed, but that there is some influence cannot be doubted. Whatever the effect, it should be correlated with the corresponding fact that rural children are likely to develop physically more rapidly than city children, at least in the major muscle system which contributes to bulk and stature.

The Mechanization of Urban Life

Urban personalities evolve through responses of greater precision. The seasons and the rising and setting sun guide the time movements of rural people, whereas city life is regulated by the clock. We might say that the city-dweller is clock-conscious, splitting the minutes in the precision of his movements. He introduces such expressions as "clean cut", "up and coming", "on the minute", "make it snappy", and "pep" into our vocabulary. Illustrative of this precision is the case of the residents of a New York suburb who petitioned the railroad company for a train to the city which should leave at 8:02 in the morning. There was already a train departing at 8:00 A.M. and another at 8:05 A.M., but they insisted that the former was too early and the latter too late for their purposes. This seems absurd to the countryman whose day is not divided minutely, but it is nevertheless one of

the aspects of urban life which contribute largely to the peculiar quality of urban personality. The urban person is impatient of delay; he wants speed, quick action, and prompt attention to engagements. He will wait on the platform twenty minutes for an express train while several local trains pass because the express will get him to his destination two minutes sooner. Upon this rigidly scheduled and systematic attention to details the city man's life depends. He finds it difficult to understand the abiding patience of the farmer.

The city-dweller is attuned to mechanisms from the time he rises until he goes to bed, so minutely is his daily routine timed. Without looking to the right or left he crosses the street. His pace is adjusted so as to reach the curb while just missing the passing vehicles. With the same facility he heeds the noises and every sound has some meaning for him. Automatically he dodges, steps ahead, or waits. As it is with pedestrians, so with the manipulators of vehicles, especially the expert and unperturbed taxi drivers. The city-dweller not only gears in with mechanical precision to the movement about him, but he relates his own movement to it. Thus he learns to accommodate himself to the congestion, pressure, noise, the rush and chaos about him. According to Dr. Donald A. Laird, Director of the psychological laboratory of Colgate University:

> Although New York is slightly quieter on the average, New Yorkers are subjected to greater noises than the inhabitants of Chicago. This apparent paradox is due to the fact that by far the greatest source of noise in Chicago comes from the elevated railways, while in New York most of the transportation noise of the subway is kept underground. This accounts for New York's streets being quieter; but the roar of the subway is much greater than Chicago's elevated transportation, thus exposing New Yorkers to more noise.
>
> Subway trains register in excess of 75 noise units on the audiometer, elevated trains around 65 noise units. The 75 units of the subway is the same reading of noise made by an airplane powered by a Wright Whirlwind motor, such as was used by Lindbergh, when the pilot is wearing a helmet. . .

A better idea of the magnitude of subway noise can be derived from knowing that pneumatic riveting in Forty-sixth Street registered only 70 units. . . . A Fifth Avenue bus is responsible for only 50 noise units.

Muscular tension is increased by noises of as great intensity as those the subway passenger experiences, and other bad mental and physical effects can be demonstrated. A great deal of human energy is dissipated due to this noise.[11]

Transient Contact, Superficial Response

The child in the street also learns when and how to dodge, when to " talk back ", and when to keep silent, when to run, and when to hold his ground. The city flows on relentlessly and with ever-increasing speed, touching its inhabitants here and there with stimulation that demands quick, varied, and exact response. New situations are always arising and must be met quickly and precisely. As there is little time to " stop and think ", a stamp of alert precision is made upon the city-dweller's personality. He develops a quick and sharp decisiveness which makes him appear nervous, but his is the kind of nervousness necessary for survival. He also appears to be a person whose life is given over to externals, and to the rural-minded he may seem superficial. Although his life is filled with color it is difficult for the rural person to understand his inducements and motivations. His values seem determined by outward appearances. Whatever his personality, he essays to flash it on the surface where it can be taken in at a glance. His contacts, as brief as they are numerous, make it necessary for him to concentrate on " the first impression ". The psychology of salesmanship, for instance, lays greatest emphasis on the first contact. Thus the city man takes in impressions and gives them in the most pithy, dynamic form. Accordingly, he dresses for each occasion and gives a great deal of attention to dress.

Possessing a wide knowledge of many things, he seems to be profound about nothing. In conversation he glides over many things with the same haste that he rushes after a street car or as he reads the newspaper, by devouring the headlines. Making

studied attempts to impress or "get away with it", much of his so-called "class" or style or culture is designed for flash and display as is illustrated by the many advertisements in the metropolitan papers to teach a foreign language in a few weeks, to make philosophers, to make "convincing talkers" or "interesting conversationalists" in a short time. One can get the kernels of a lifetime's reading in the world's best literature "for $2.90 on five days' trial!" In the rush of life and the hasty contacts that characterize urban existence, these sketchy impressions are about all the cosmopolitan modern man has time for. If there is not actual sophistication, there must at least be a pretense. This invitation to parade one's wares, and sometimes it becomes a compelling imperative, is essentially urban.

Habit Selection and Urban Personality

If an urban personality exists, it has come into being as a result of some process of selection. As Woolston points out in his discussion of the urban habit of mind,[12] the selective principle is one that impinges itself upon the nervous system which responds by marshalling and classifying the stimuli into habit systems of response, part of the material out of which personality is made. The newspaper reporter composing under the pressure of time in the midst of clang and roar; the stock-broker appearing calm and undisturbed as he speculates with millions of dollars in the riot of the Stock Exchange; the subway conductor standing his ground as mobs whirl about him; the traffic policeman directing the chaos of busy streets: these are symbols of the selective process — personalities which have survived, adjusted themselves to urban needs, and have come to be indigenous to its environment. Many stories are told of the inability of urbanized persons to accommodate themselves to rural surroundings, e. g., of the lady from the slums who was sent to the country by a social worker and in a week was found back in the heat and grime of her flat; she could not adjust herself to the quiet of the country, and out of

sheer loneliness hurried back to the scene of her squalor, the environment to which her nerves had become adjusted. City-dwellers commonly find it impossible to sleep on their first night away from accustomed noises to which they have become consciously immune although the nervous system may have established habitual subconscious responses to them. Pain of a very definite kind results when habitual stimuli are not forthcoming.

If selection and accommodation go toward producing the urban personality — the urban habit of mind — the negative phase of the same process makes of the city a center of multitudinous unadjustments and maladjustments. The businessman who seems so self-possessed under strain may have gained his calm by smoking innumerable cigarettes. The society woman who greets her guests with so much *savoir-faire* may be upon the verge of hysteria. In order to conceal the fear of unadjustment, the nervous strain, urban personalities develop a lively feeling of self-regard. Indeed, one of their characteristics as distinguished from rural personalities is egoism, and so long as their nervous systems support them, this carries them far toward achievement. But once the race becomes too swift, and the strain too great, the nervous system breaks and this same egoism turns into abnormal self-degradation. Or whenever the egoism becomes absorbed in a crowd movement, the result may be a frightened exhibition of uncontrolled enthusiasm, following crazes, manias, and fads, or in extreme cases, giving way to mob action with all its manifestations of hatred and violence.[18]

Urban Personality Traits

Since our nervous systems are so varied and capable of so wide a range of integrative action, it is obvious that no uniform adjustment to urban life ever results. There is no " urban personality," but there are urban personalities who in a very definite manner are distinct and separate from the general population. With the larger group they share certain traits, with numerous

subordinate groups other traits and in addition each person has traits that are unique to himself. Urban personalities exhibit similar traits whether one begins by examining the blasé, wealthy cosmopolitan club-member, or the gibbering derelict on the dark street corner who begs a dime. Both belong to the city and both would be unhappy out of its environment.

Perhaps it will be found useful to apply a psychological scheme of personality traits to urban and rural persons for the purpose of determining which are ascendant or recessive for each respective group. For this purpose Allport's selection of traits will probably serve best.[14] His first category is intelligence, and he lists the following traits: (a) Problem-solving ability, (b) Memory and learning ability, (c) Perceptual ability, (d) Constructive imagination, (e) Special abilities, (f) Soundness of judgment, and (g) General adaptability. These are obviously traits which can be measured only by precise tests. When these have been perfected and applied to sufficiently large numbers of both rural and urban groups at various age levels, it may become possible to derive certain uniform variations. However, so many of the traits of intelligence are so largely dependent upon individual differences that it will probably never be possible to separate intelligence from personality traits distinctly enough to warrant trustworthy conclusions.

The remaining traits mentioned by Allport — motility, temperament, self-expression, and sociality — are also inter-related and not separable, but these are made manifest so clearly in overt behavior that it becomes possible to arrive at certain rough, empirical judgments which are of practical value. In the following table, wherever the trait seems peculiarly strong in urban personalities (that is, sufficiently pronounced to constitute a factor in variation), it will be preceded by a plus sign (+), and by the same token, when the trait is weak, it will be preceded by a minus sign (—). Doubtful traits are preceded with an asterisk (*). Motility: motor characteristics, such as speed, impulsiveness, control, steadiness, skill, etc.

(+) Hyperkinetic: easily stimulated low action threshold.
(—) Hypokinetic: stimulated with difficulty; high action threshold.
(+) Impulsion: vigorous positive tendency to action.
(—) Inhibition: tendency to block motor impulses.
(+) Tenacity: persistence of activity in certain line.
(+) Skill: manner of execution based upon coördination and motor control.
(+) Style: individuality of execution.

Temperament: the subjective side of personality; feeling and emotion.

(+) Emotional frequency and change: rapid succession of moods or emotional states.
(+) Emotional breadth: range and variety of objects of emotion.
(*) Characteristic mood: more or less permanent mood of gloominess, cheerfulness, etc.
(+) Emotional attitude: definite set toward suspiciousness, self-depreciation, cynicism, snobbery, etc.

Self-expression: trends of behavior resulting from special abilities, attitudes toward self, others, reality, etc.

(+) Drive: group of habits which acquire compelling power and which control other habit systems in individual development; special focus for individual's life.
(+) Extroversion: objective, unrepressed, insensitive.
(*) Introversion: attention to self, subjective, imaginative.
(*) Insight: to act from clear motives; to view oneself as others would if his nature were fully revealed.
(+) Ascendance: tendency to dominate, to exercise power.
(*) Submission: tendency to submit, to play inferior rôle.
(*) Expansion: tendency to make all behavior personal.
(*) Reclusion: tendency to keep personality in background.

Sociality: susceptibility of the individual to influence of society.

(+) Susceptibility to social stimulation: sensitiveness to social stimuli; tendency toward socialization.
(*) Socialization: active social participation.
(*) (Character: personality viewed in the light of social justice.)

Limitations of Trait Classification

The above use of plus and minus signs leads, of course, to a kind of assurance which the facts of the situation do not warrant. In the first place, these traits should be tested on representative rural and urban groups; in the second place, many of them are largely dependent upon individual differences at various stages of development. Taken as a whole, the markings indicated above may be regarded as denoting a drift or direction of the evolution of urban personality. The last item, "character", is perhaps more of a moral judgment than a trait, and draws its meaning from the moral standards and social values of different environmental settings. The "city feller" of the movies who betrays the country lasses, steals the mortgage, and in every way behaves as the city personality in the movies is supposed to behave is as much a product of the imagination as the farmer who is traditionally supposed to put the large apples on the top and the small apples at the bottom of the barrel. "Honesty, fairness, reliability and candor are socialized drives related to specific situations," says Allport and this may be accepted as a fair summarization of character.

A keen journalistic description of the type of urban businessman who is coming to dominate the life of American cities ascribes to him these qualities, "good-hearted, well-meaning, honest, affectionate, loyal, narrow, dogmatic and dull". "The type is the big, beaming man with clipped military mustaches, whose golf is in the nineties, motor speed in the sixties, waistline in the forties, wife in the thirties, and sweetheart in the (early) twenties." He is "noisy, cheerful, pleased with himself. He makes plenty of money, spends most of it, drives a snappy car, dresses in snappy clothes." [15] Sociologists, with perhaps less capacity for sharp observation, but with perhaps greater ability for generalization, do not hesitate to make similar value judgments.

"Urban concentration leads to moral and physiological degeneration," writes Mukerjee.[16] The common assumption that

most of our leadership, even for the city, comes from rural areas, may be true when viewed in absolute numbers, but is far from accurate relatively. The rural areas produce only about one-half as many leaders per hundred thousand population as the cities do, as a study made by R. Clyde White shows,[17] and from a similar study, Stephen S. Fisher writes:

> Replies from 18,400 persons sketched in the current edition of *Who's Who in America* indicate that 25.9% were born on farms, 24.5% in villages and towns, 24.8% in small cities, 20.6% in large cities, and 4.1% in suburbs. In proportion to the population at the 1870 Census, cities contributed nearly six times as many as did farms, and suburbs 11 times.[18]

The present struggle for supremacy is among the urban-produced leadership — the Irish in politics and the Jew in business, as well as every manner of city-born person invading the arts and sciences. Personality development is always a matter of adjustment to specific social situations. In the city as well as in the rural community a " rough approximation to a vague standard of sympathetic behavior " [19] exists and it is this approximation which differentiates the urban from the rural personality.

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Using Bernard's classifications of social environments, keep a record of your contacts and experiences for one or two days. Record these responses and try to classify them.

2. Use the same procedure in analyzing the experience of an urban resident, a villager, and a farmer.

3. Using Allport's classification of personality traits, make a record for yourself, for an urban resident, a villager, and for a rural resident.

4. Formulate an attitude chart, using some of the more prominent controversial questions of the day (Prohibition, bolshevism, foreign loans, oil leases, companionate marriage, Catholic for President, " International Jew," Japanese exclusion, etc.), and apply to urban or village groups.

5. Record and analyze a number of rural-urban conflicts, as Ku

Klux Klan, farm loans, or urban migrations, which may be observed first-hand or in the public prints.

6. Prepare a time chart showing how a representative number of city and country residents pass their day. On the basis of this chart indicate the differences in the number and the rate of stimuli between the two groups.

7. Personality is usually regarded as the unified or integrative aspect of individualized human nature. In simpler societies the unifying expressions of the personality were localized; they found more or less complete fulfillment in the local neighborhood or community. In urban society, only a portion or fraction of the personality may be expressed in any one activity. If the city-dweller is thus divided between many interests, many of them unrelated, how can he achieve a unified or integrated personality?

8. Analyze and compare the types of social organization which exist and survive in city, village, and rural communities. In what sense may these social forms be reflections of varying personality types? Does the nature of the problem in each situation condition the personality type? How?

9. Although statistical evidence is not wholly trustworthy, it appears that the number of mental diseases connected with alcoholism and syphilis is greater in urban than in rural areas, and that the increase is correlated with the size of the urban community. On the other hand, it appears that feeble-mindedness is more frequent in rural areas. Assuming that these comparisons are based upon facts, how may the situation be explained?

10. It is often assumed that leadership is correlated with specific personality traits (social capacity, temperament, physical and mental proportions). If this is true, we ought to expect to find rural and urban leaders displaying the same personality traits. Study some rural and urban leaders (country mail carrier and city mail carrier, a specialist in the city and the country doctor, a country judge and a ward boss). How do these types differ, or compare? Sorokin in his recent book on *Social Mobility* has collected considerable material on this problem.

11. Using group photographs, experiment to see whether or not it is possible to distinguish between rural and urban persons.

12. The following quotations are taken from *Agricultural Journalism*, Crawford and Rogers, Chap. I:

(a) " The farmer's mode of thought is essentially conservative."

(b) " Farmers think in terms of averages perhaps less than any other group in the population."

(c) "The farmer's isolation has retarded the development of a realistic philosophy of relationship to other groups."

(d) "Farmers are as a class eye-minded and muscle-minded."

Restate each of these sentences in terms of the urban dweller, giving in each case his corresponding trait. Cite instances of each observation for both farmers and city folks.

13. A city man who goes to the country for rest is irritated by the rooster crowing. The country man goes to the city and cannot rest for the clamor of traffic and other mechanical noises. Explain why this is. Is the noise of the city a psychological problem? (See an article on "Noise," by E. E. Free, *Forum*, March, 1928, pp. 382–389.)

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. L. L. Bernard, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, ch. VI, "The Environmental Bases of Behavior" (New York, 1926).
2. Floyd H. Allport, *Social Psychology*, ch. V. "Personality — The Social Man" (New York, 1924).
3. Bernard, see No. 1.
4. "The New Nobility," by H. Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Century*, 109 (Nov. 1924): 3–6; a concise analysis of the outstanding differences between the urbanite and the rustic. See also "Wanted on Earth," Wilson Gee, *North American Review*, March, 1928.
5. C. C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology*, ch. III, "Farming and Farm People" (New York, 1926).
6. H. L. Mencken in the *American Mercury*, I (1924): 292–96. See also *The Rural Mind and Social Welfare*, E. R. Groves, 1922.
7. Professors C. C. Zimmerman and Pitirim Sorokin are now at work on a compilation of all reliable data concerning rural and urban differences. When this is made, we shall have a better understanding of the significance of these differences and also a clue for further investigations.
8. For an elaboration of the concept of social distance, see "The Personality Clash and Social Distance"; "Mutations of Social Distance"; and "Social Distance between Groups"; by Emory S. Bogardus; and "The Concept of Social Distance," by Robert E. Park, *Journal of Applied Sociology*, vol. XI, No. 2; vol. XI, No. 1; vol. X, No. 5 and vol. VIII, No. 6.
9. See W. H. Pyle, *Nature and Development of Learning Capacity*, (Warwick and York, Baltimore, Md., 1925).

10. *Mental Abnormality and Deficiency*, L. W. Pressy and J. B. Thomas, (Macmillan, 1926).
11. *New York Times*, 11/20/27.
12. H. B. Woolston, "The Urban Habit of Mind," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 17, March 1912.
13. *The Behavior of Crowds*, E. D. Martin, ch. I. (New York, 1920).
14. Allport, see No. 2 ch. V, p. 103.
15. "Los Angeles," Bruce Bliven, *New Republic*, July 13, 1927.
16. *Regional Sociology*, R. M. Mukerjee (N. Y., 1926).
17. R. Clyde White, *Journal of Social Forces;* II:18–20, 1923. "The City Drift of Population in Relation to Social Efficiency."
18. A study of the Type of the Place of Birth and the Occupations of Fathers of Subjects of Sketches in *Who's Who in America; American Journal of Sociology*, 30 (1925): 551–53–55.
19. *Principles of Social Psychology*, by J. M. Williams, p. 427, (N. Y., 1922).

XII

URBAN SOCIAL TYPES

Type Cities and Stereotypes

Before indicating the socio-psychological basis of the various urban types, it may be advisable to suggest once more that cities themselves tend to become atypical as well as typical, although probably not to the same degree that villages do. The standardizing process going on in almost every sphere of human activity does not prevent Detroit from possessing qualities different from those of Philadelphia. The urbanity of Boston has very little in common with the " brand-new ", booming urbanity of Los Angeles. One of our sociological journalists has recently completed for the *New York Times* [1] a series of character sketches of leading American cities. He concludes that all of our larger cities tend to become alike in certain respects but also tend to maintain certain significant differences.[2] The attempt to capitalize their distinctive qualities indicates the value attached to these differentiations. Rochester calls itself " The Flower City "; Philadelphia, " The City of Brotherly Love "; Detroit, " The Dynamic "; Boston, " The Hub "; Norwich, " The Rose of New England "; Salt Lake City, " The City of the Saints "; Los Angeles, " The City of the Angels ". Most amusing is the case of Tacoma which was once commercially ascendant in Washington. Seattle now has three times the population of Tacoma and calls herself " The Prosperous City ". Tacoma replies by saying: " Seattle may be prosperous, but Tacoma is a home city." Cities also aspire to distinction through imitation. San Francisco, Montreal, New Orleans, and Brussels have each at one time or another wanted to be called " The Little Paris ", indicating that they were

urban communities distinguished for gaiety and light-heartedness. For commercial purposes a great many cities advertise themselves as the " Second Port in the Nation ".

The human mind never ceases to classify the facts of the universe, to group these facts and to associate with them definite values and attitudes. Cities are known for the things they do; so are the areas in cities, and so are the people who live in these areas. This persistent tendency to classify things is a normal way of bringing order out of chaos. It is a form of psychological economy, and certainly a convenience, to be able to reduce the phenomena of the environment into compact symbols that may be passed in communication from person to person. Walter Lippman has called these concepts " stereotypes ".[3] We use the stereotype *tramp* and straightway a symbol of uniform meaning comes to mind. We use other stereotypes: Y. M. C. A. secretary, gambler, actor, flapper, pugilist, sailor, street urchin, chauffeur; and in each instance a symbol with a train of associations is called to mind.

The great city teems with stereotypes, or more briefly, types. Broadway is a conspicuous example of a highly differentiated area that functions in a particularized respect for the whole country. It is a region of specialists, stars of every magnitude. In the main it serves the nation in the business of entertainment, but that single function breaks up into hundreds of accessory ones and for each a special type of personality is produced. There are many degrees of excellence, but the acme of excellence is membership in a few exclusive groups, such as the Lambs Club for actors. All may aspire to these exclusive circles, but few are admitted; so they scatter along in the lesser degrees of glory, known as the " failure belts ". They may be of the great group of hangers-on who gather with the unemployed at certain corners where the casting jobbers come to pick up " types ". They may be of the bohemian, intellectual, cynical type of actor who never quite achieves, but who gathers between jobs with other scoffers. They may be stagehands and other workers who look down on actors. They may be

showmen, carnival-hands, road-men, or of a hundred types that are not only occupational but social segregations. In each group is found a different language, different associations; but they all belong to Broadway. The business of entertaining the nation is their food supply and their life. To each of these types Broadway is the labor market and social center. Let ill luck overtake them anywhere in the nation and the first step toward recovery is to get back to Broadway and friends of their own class.

Urban personalities are in every instance, much as in the population of Broadway, the products of that vast congeries of stimuli which combine to form what is known as "urban life". Two processes are involved: (a) people are united in social wholes through emerging consciousness of kind in which their habits become uniform and their tastes alike; this is the tendency toward standardization; (b) but at the same time there is a tendency toward social differentiation, toward individualization. Differentiation grows out of specialization of experience and tends both to produce types of persons and to unite these into type groups. The personality type may constitute a reaction to restricted and specialized experience in the processes of socialization or in occupation. Occupational types and type groups will be the subjects of other chapters.

The Rich Man

One of the conspicuous urban types is the man of wealth and power; large of stature, grim and sober of countenance, possessing the protruding jaw which indicates strength and decisiveness. He is presumed to be a man of big business, of great affairs, who deals in high finance and directs vast enterprises. During the rise of the Populist movement, the Free-Silver campaign, and Roosevelt's "trust-busting" period, this type came to be a favorite for cartoonists and caricaturists. He was usually drawn as a corpulent person with a top-hat, flashy clothes, thick cigar, a prominent

diamond in his cravat and another on his finger; occasionally his coat and trousers were checked with dollar-signs to indicate the source of his power. In identifying this as well as other personality types, the cartoonist has molded popular attitudes toward all types. The man of wealth is popularly known as a plutocrat who has manipulated business, politics, and finally social life.

Persons who combine to some degree any or all of these traits exist in every city. But the modern urban business type no longer dresses in loud clothing nor does he ostentatiously flaunt his jewelry, although his wife and daughters may; he has learned to capitalize genteel habits of dress and manner. He is calm of voice, restrained in dress, and gentle in manner. Not often seen in public, his movements are largely secret. He may maintain a luxurious urban apartment, a country house, a seashore " cottage ", and a mountain cabin, spending no more than one-half to two-thirds of his time in the city of his residence. He disdains politics, although he may contribute to campaign funds — indeed occasionally both parties may receive contributions from him at the same time. He is never seen consorting with politicians, nor is he interested in meeting mayors, senators, or governors. Yet he may be intimately connected with international affairs. His social life is narrowly restricted to members of his group, those who are sufficiently wealthy to own a box at the opera, belong to the exclusive clubs, or possess pleasure yachts. His children are usually educated in private schools or by tutors. He may attempt to live simply but he can rarely achieve a democratic form of life; his wealth and power set him apart from the mass, endowing him with mythical qualities.

The Philanthropist

Closely allied with the " big businessman " is the urban philanthropist, distinguished by the peculiar power which comes from conspicuous giving as well as acquiring. Possessing all the traits belonging to the other man of wealth, he is in addition a member of various charitable boards, and a trustee of numerous institutions,

and consequently leads a broader social life than does the man of wealth who restricts his activities to the realms of business and finance. Prominent in the church, he often appears at public functions, acting as the exponent of certain social values, endorsing candidates and movements. Entire institutions and social agencies, especially those which are endowed by him or bear his name, often mold their policies according to his wishes and whims. These urban philanthropists, in their support of charitable, educational, religious, dramatic, musical, and other movements, assist in institutionalizing the social values of the urban community. But at the same time they build up philanthropic traditions around themselves which contribute to the enhancement of their personalities. This is more likely to be true consciously when the impulse toward charity arrives late in life, that is, after the rewards for the mere accumulation of wealth have ceased to intrigue the imagination.

In the more recent past the philanthropists have contributed much to the tendency to make charity impersonal and professional. With the rapid industrialization of society and the attendant complexity of urban life, persons of wealth encounter more and more difficulties in dispensing their fortunes for charitable purposes. When the point is reached where the pressure of demand is too great and the ability to choose wisely is lacking, they adopt some method whereby their wealth can be funded for future philanthropic purposes and distributed according to the advice of specialists. At present more than two hundred financial foundations of this sort exist in this country and the number tends to increase steadily. As is pointed out in a later chapter on control, these foundations tend to become new seats of control in the community and in the nation.

The Booster

The middle-class urbanite who has achieved success but who never reaches the pinnacle of wealth and power enjoyed by

the types described is Mr. Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt*, the ubiquitous booster, possessing a love for his city and a passion for its progress. If he is not trying to precipitate a boom, he is expecting one. Working steadily and hard, he belongs to numerous organizations, dividing his time and loyalty among many groups. In short, he is the civic center and heart of the urban community, the person upon whom governmental and social agencies depend for their man-power support, and represents probably more adequately than any other the mid-stream of American public opinion.

The Feminist

When the task of classifying dominant urban types is approached, attention is naturally drawn first toward men since the city has been for so long the arena of male accomplishment and success — or failure. But during the past three decades, and especially since the War of 1914–1918, women have risen step by step into the regions of power. The advance-guard of this movement, significant in so many ways that its depths are but dimly sensed, are urban women. In fact, a distinct urban feminine type exists — a woman who has fought this fight for years, and bears its marks; she is for the most part large in stature, commanding of voice, and quick of mind. Many attempts at caricature have been made. Men, and also women who opposed the rise of feminism with all its implications, drew this new woman in gross lines: they dressed her in mannish clothes, placed spectacles upon her nose, and gratuitously presented her with an ugly face. These items do not fit the facts. In the early days of this struggle, many women behaved as if they wanted to be men, but this extreme phase soon wore away. A few of the earlier leaders may have possessed some of the inward and outward traits which have come to be regarded as peculiarly masculine; on the whole, however, the leaders in the feminist movements entertain no deep desire to be like men, for all their efforts to take a place on a par with men in the world of affairs. On the contrary, they earnestly

demand the right to be more fully feminine; that is, to live in a society where the contributions of women will be taken into account and valued on their own merits. Women now enter most trades and professions formerly thought to be the exclusive occupations of men. To some observers this is taken as a gesture to power. In fact, it is probably more economic. The industrial organization of modern society has robbed her of most of her traditional occupations. Her work has gone to the factory where it is done by men. This general shake-up of the ancient division of labor has left the women with the responsibility of finding new occupations in the productive system, and new parts to play in the general control of community life. The cities, where women have been most dispossessed, have become the expression centers of the so-called "new women" and they are finding their way into numerous positions of leadership. This may be unique in the form it takes, but is not fundamentally new, because in all cultures women have shared the leadership of the group.

The Club Woman

More than any other of the feminists the club woman symbolizes that gesture of modern women for leadership. She is peculiarly an American city product. Once she was a stereotype with which the caricaturists could play, but that is not so true today because there are so many gradations of club women, ranging from the metropolitan lady of wealth who pays high dues, has club-rooms that vie in excellence with those of men, to the wife of the laborer in the small town whose club meets in modest homes. Hence, it can scarcely be said that we have a distinct type of club woman, yet there is sufficient uniformity. In outward characteristics there are similarities as there are exceptions. Usually the club woman is drawn from the middle classes. She is the wife, daughter, or mother of a professional or business man. Neither the wealthy nor the poor are conspicuously active in these collective ways. In the second place, the club woman possesses

social tendencies and sometimes literary leanings; she revels in such contacts. In the third place, one of the selecting principles must be some disposition toward power, self-expression, leadership, some urge toward freedom. These surface traits considered, there must be deeper imponderables — some negative and some positive — than those enumerated, which combine to make the club woman. Many, it is true, who would be classified as of the club type are drawn into membership by social pressure or by the lack of any other interests or occupation. Whatever this American club woman may be as a type, she is one of the potent stabilizing forces in contemporary culture. On the other hand, the club woman with money, when her interests turn to matters of reform or intellectual hobbies, can be and often is a dynamic force in stimulating social change. Often in the smaller cities not even the Chamber of Commerce is a greater power in civic affairs than these collectivities of club women.

The "Allrightnick"

The tendency to fall into types is equally true of other levels and other sections of society. The foreigner dwelling in the American city is no less a type. Of the many brands there is one that is quite conspicuous. In the main, the foreigners in our cities make good. One that does not is a social enigma, but it is often as true of some who succeed. The failure is a social problem for his dependency, the other for his pathological independency. The alien usually arrives fired with ambition to succeed. By thrifty living he is able after a few years to move his family from the slums to the better districts, and perhaps start some business. Beginning by taking America at its word, a land of freedom and opportunity, rewarding ability irrespective of creed, color, or nationality, he goes through a period of disillusionment until he finally recognizes urban life for what it is, an uncompromising struggle, cruel to the weak but equally hard on the strong. He finds that the rewards go to the clever, and sometimes the

ruthlessly businesslike, and he enters vigorously into the game of taking and giving hard blows.

Every racial and national group produces its winning types. Among the Jews the winner is a *Mensch*, or an "allrightnick", one who sacrifices all social values for the economic struggle. Carelessly or conveniently he forgets all the cultural values of his own background as well as the graces which accompany them. His new manners and ethics he draws from the American business world as they filter through the "dog-eat-dog" struggle for economic survival. He has no need for the social graces because he is not accepted in society. He can jam his way to the center of things in the business world, but since by jostling he does not win a place in the social world, he boisterously camps outside the charmed circle of the socially accepted and there builds a gilded replica of it.

Often the allrightnick goes into business of low social standing. It may be the junk business, the second-hand trade, night-life entertainment, or, more recently, the bootleg business. Perhaps in some instances the manner in which he gained his wealth helps to exaggerate his social ostracism, for which he compensates by acquiring all the externals of social position that money can buy. Residing in the most expensive apartments in the newest family hotels, he dresses his wife in ermine, adorns her with jewels, and ostentatiously parades her and his daughters on the boardwalk or wherever the social set enjoys itself. If denied admission to the country clubs of the socially elect he and his fellows retaliate by building their own country club, which outshines the other in the spaciousness of its grounds, the impressiveness of its architecture, and the luxuriousness of its furnishings. He either gives liberally to the charities in which the controlling set are dominant or he conspicuously supports or endows philanthropies in his own name. His children go to college and there begin anew the struggle for social recognition. Frequently they succeed, often only after they have broken all the traditional ties, even to anglicizing their names. In this struggle the allrightnick often de-

velops a superficial independence which finds expression in movements to keep aloof. And although beginning by casting aside his parental culture, he just as frequently in his opulent later years develops a protective attitude towards it, and spends money lavishly to keep it alive.

The Rebel

Other urban types are to be distinguished frequently by their reaction against, or their negative response to the economically secure types already referred to. For example, the urban "radical" denies the validity of all upper- and middle-class values, especially their conventional codes of morals. His pattern of behavior may be analyzed by observing those behavior traits which antagonize him among the control groups and personalities. Insisting that the qualities contributing to the pose of the wealthy are essentially disservices to society as a whole, he contends that power should be meted out according to the contribution which any given individual makes to the social order. Since the financial speculator produces nothing by dint of his labor he should be deprived of power. What he likes to call ostentatious consumption and conspicuous waste[4] are anti-social conduct in the eyes of the radical. From these premises he deduces that those who have both wealth and power should be judged on ethical grounds; and when he personalizes his resentment it usually takes the form of ascribing to the wealthy and powerful unethical motives. Frequently an intellectual, his wide knowledge of economics, literature, the arts, etc., induces in him violent contempt for the mediocrity of mind which, so he believes, characterizes the wealthy and the bourgeois. He insists that the conventional morality which these groups perpetuate for the masses is a form of duplicity; a method of insuring moral freedom for themselves while holding the masses to sobriety and conventions. He denounces the great foundations and charities of the wealthy, branding them as tools for grinding the faces of the poor. He criticizes and later condemns

the institutions which are held sacred by the wealthy and the middle-classes. Grouping them altogether under one collective noun "capitalism" — which he employs epithetically — he hangs on this one nail all the social problems and evils which afflict the human race.

Hopefully looking forward to the "revolution", a world upheaval when the high shall be brought down and the low lifted up, some radicals wait patiently, living simply, while others are fretful about the delay, and lead, as nearly as they can, the lives of freedom which conventions forbid. A few are more impatient, not only repudiating conventions but trying overtly to hasten the upheaval which is to bring in the new order. Numerous are the radical and liberal roads to Utopia but most are motivated by philosophies of social betterment. In their own ranks there is no little friction and conflict of ideas about how the revolution may be brought about, whether by indirect or direct action. In only a few instances are the direct actionists the rabid destructionists described in so much of the opinion that is current about them. The significant fact of all the many brands of radicals is that they emerge in urban life and can exist scarcely anywhere else.

The Club Man

The same is true of the professional clubman, a cosmopolitan in tastes. He may not possess extensive wealth but he practises a kind of genteel, aristocratic indolence which separates him from the more active businessmen. Often he is the bored son of a man of affairs. If he works, it is with an air of studied carelessness, conveying to his associates, few in number, the impression of an attitude of amused boredom. He has seen life at too many angles to be enthusiastic over new prospects and apparently has no aspirations except to live, dress, and talk well. Blasé, sophisticated, and mildly cynical, he usually possesses a wide knowledge of people and events, and frequently finds his chief diversion in revealing his "inside" information to the less well-

informed.[5] Marriage does not tempt him although he may be very eligible. In one sense he may be regarded as a typical end-product of over-sophisticated life: the person who has experienced all that city life can offer and no longer looks forward zestfully to new experience.

More than a hundred years ago Malcolm wrote as follows about the "town gallant" of London, the pace-setter and clubman of his period who today has many imitators and is therefore a significant social force:

> The gallant had plenty of money, and might be of a respectable, if not a noble descent; but the qualifications mentioned were not those by which he wished to be distinguished — vanity, folly, debauchery, and profaneness were the vices courted by this "silly, huffing thing", who in truth appears to have had little else than "pop and bounce" in his composition. To trace him — *ab origine* — his breeding was under the wings of a too indulgent mother, who took a world of pains to make him a fool, and attained her end at the age of discretion; being at this sage period of life a mere bundle of vanity, or a kind of walking exchange, composed of various new and ridiculous fashions, he might be estimated with greatest accuracy by the value of his clothes. The grand object of his life was making love; and such appeared from his own account, to be his success in this way, that when a virgin of thirteen was mentioned, he boldly swore miracles had not ceased. An invective uttered at that inconsiderable animal, called a husband, gave him infinite delight, because it contributed to support his utter aversion of matrimony.
>
> The aim of the town-gallant was to excite surprise by the eccentricity of his new oaths, invented on every occasion of his life. Each of his acts he declared to be that of a gentleman; and, to create respect, he bestowed feigned honors on his humble companions, who, in return, gave him the title of a man of blood; he was saucy with his superiors and blustered like the four cardinal winds in a painting; but if you began to be as high as he, straight the bubble breaks, and then with an ill-shaped fawning cringe he swears — "I, good sir, I even honored you; but you are a passionate gentleman, and will not understand a jest." He placeth his very essence in his outside, and his only prayers are that his father may go to the devil expeditiously, and his estate hold out to keep his miss and himself in good equipage.
>
> Till noon he lies abed to digest his over-night debauchery, and having

dressed himself, he first trails along the street, observing who observes him, and from his uprising gets just in time enough to the French ordinary to *sup le pottage*, eat *beuf à la mode*, and drink briskly of Burgundy. After this a coach is called for, to rattle his more rattle head to the play house, where he advances into the middle of the pit, struts about a while to render his parts the more conspicuous, pulls out his comb, combs his wig, hums the orange-wench to give her own unreasonable rates for a little fruit; alas how can she live else, giving at least forty pound per annum to tread and foul these seats the silken petticoats and gaudy pantaloons do sit on. Immediately presenting the best moiety of his purchase to the next visor mask, he resigned himself to sleep, but roused suddenly by the petulent pinch of some neighboring wench, he suddenly proclaims his pretentions to wit and criticism, by loudly damning the play, with the most tragical face.

A disturbance in the street towards morning, caused by the gallant and his associates when issuing from a house of ill-fame, serves to draw the attention of the aged night-watchman whose lantern broken upon their heads serves as a signal for demolishing windows, and exciting the terrors of sleeping females and children, whose cries, united with the thunder of their execrations, fill the neighborhood.[6]

The Bohemian

Conspicuous pleasure-seeking, coupled with intellectual display as well as the challenging of convention, are the marks of the bohemian. Toward life the bohemian is an emancipated critic, frequently an experimenter, and he approaches life in the name of some art interest. Placing esthetics above material things, he rationalizes poverty. It is a manner of living which the city makes easy: the book of verse, the jug of wine, the loaf of bread, and frankness in all conversation on all subjects. Theoretically the bohemian is one who lives simply and unostentatiously; actually his life is a display of deviations. In his home, the studio, he seeks the informal atmosphere which he feels is an escape from the strait-jacket of social duty. Another type of bohemian is the rural emigré who seeks to find in the dimly-lighted eating places, the intimate talk on taboo subjects, and the splash of varied colors, the desired release from his inhibited life. Artists, writers, and

poets strive for a living in the bohemian quarters of every city. Some look and act the rôle popularly identified with the term, and others, the real nucleus, are quite inconspicuous. The conspicuous bohemian is more likely to be a connoisseur than an artist, or a libertine or antinomian than either. In all ages true bohemian types have existed, but in the modern city where the life of social or artistic groups has been highly commercialized, the bohemian has become a social rather than an artist type.

Pleasure seeking in the large city often takes people into the underworld or temptingly near its border. The commercial reasons for this are of course obvious. The underworld as a playground, all the way from its red-light center to its white-light periphery, is managed by a group of people who for practical purposes may be called outcasts. We find here characters from the most unimpeachable to the most base; and their chief business is that of satisfying the recreational wants of the pleasure-seekers, which of course range from the most innocent to the most illicit. Entertaining is a business. Although certain very popular types of entertainment are not considered profitable, yet they are carried on. Here we find many personality types: dancers, singers, waiters, doormen, managers, gamblers, all figuring somehow in certain kinds of urban recreation. They brush shoulders and exchange confidences with other types engaged in crime and vice. The whole gamut of types might be discussed with reference to occupation were it not for the fact that since the class as a whole is outside the pale of respectability, it also constitutes a social type. The very fact of being without status becomes incorporated in the personalities of all these types, giving them a common impress. As the bohemian rationalizes poverty, so the outcast rationalizes crime and vice or other social stigmata which attach to him. He becomes one with all other outcasts, sharing with them their attitudes and values, and adopting as his own their moral code.

Socially Rejected Types

The curious fact about the outcast as a type is that although he has no status, he plays a rôle in city life. Sometimes it is a law-defying rôle in vice or crime; or a borderline activity which may be within the law but yet is in violation of the conventions of society, as do the " kept lady ", the bootlegger, the keeper of the licensed though questionable resort, and others who stand with a foot on either side of the line that divides the demi-monde from respectable society. Parasitic and predacious, they belong to all ages and to the great city everywhere, but the modern urban life with its greater emphasis on commercialized amusement has been particularly tolerant of them. Contemporary journals and the theatre select these types for dramatic purposes. The following journalistic account of ' River Thieves ' conveys something of the adventurous quality which attaches to the anti-social type:

> A fantastic sort of glamour has always hung over the robber who chooses the wharves for his *mise en scène*. Like the gentleman of the highways, he has in time past appeared as a more robust type of scoundrel than the mere burglar, the forger, or the glib-mouthed confidence man. Over him there broods the mystery of deep water, of black nights wherein boats of sinister purpose move across the darkness. His need is for utter silence, and boldness, and nerves of iron. And if he is not so debonair as the highwayman, he is immeasurably more secret.[1]

All ages and all cities have also had the mendicant but in America mendicancy, coupled with an exaggerated mobility, has brought into existence a homeless type, a detached individual, usually a man, sharing the philosophy and frequently the moral code of the outcast. But like the outcast of the underworld, he functions in the larger life of the community.

The hobo — the able-bodied migratory worker of the homeless type — plays a very significant economic rôle in society, wandering from job to job as the demands for labor seem to indicate. His rendezvous in the city is generally closely allied with

the underworld, in fact his only social life is there, but in his larger life he ranges to the ends of the earth. For the migrating workers the city is the labor market whither they rush whenever they have money to spend, or for food and shelter when jobs fail them. A small proportion of chronic mendicants may be found in the homeless type but often the number is grossly exaggerated in studies that are made by the uninitiated.[8]

Frequently the homeless type is physically handicapped. Perhaps injured occupationally, he is now unable to compete on the labor market. A large part are old men for whom there is very little demand in the labor market, so they do odd jobs around the city. Senility and unemployability are frequently the chief reasons for their detachment from their families. The more dependent the homeless man is the more likely he is to cling to the city. On the other hand the more given to romance, the more he is likely to give himself to wandering.

The Type Person

The types described above are but a few of the many that may be identified in urban society. The list can be lengthened indefinitely out of the average person's experience. In sociological terms, the type person is interesting not so much for his variation from the norm but for the fact that he is a high light in the many-colored urban life. The mediocre average person supplies the numbers but the type person gives the city its distinctiveness. A very rich man may make of a village a one-man town whereas in the city he would be identified only with a personality type. The type person in the city is nothing more than a behavior pattern accompanied by various degrees of power and capacity, conspicuous because of some intrinsic difference or because he can afford and dares to be different.

Throughout the foregoing sections of this volume we have emphasized the fact that it is the mechanistic character of modern urban life which contributes so largely toward standardization

on both material and human levels. But if this is the dominant trend, why do not all individuals become standardized? In other words, why does social differentiation leading toward distinct behavior types persist?

Socialization and differentiation are corollary processes characteristic of all forms of social life. As Cooley pointed out long ago, social and individual are not antithetical terms, but merely represent two sides of the same shield. The whole, the unifying principle, is human nature—an evolving quality, at once both individual and social.[9] In the simple life of the hamlet or village, the standardizing process dominates the process of differentiation, but even here the variant types break into prominence. Village life usually receives its recognition in literature and in drama by reason of these types.[10] The so-called "characters" in the village are simply people who have somehow resisted the complete impact of standardization and continue to view life or to express themselves in terms which are not typical of the group as a whole. The village iconoclast, atheist, bad man, and half-wit, are in varying psychological degrees types which emerge from the peculiar conditions of village life. Likewise it is to be expected that urban life will assume certain distinctive colorations due to the presence in its midst of type-individuals who stand out from the mass. But with the increase of population, the individual who has represented a type, finds others of his own type, and through association, the identifying qualities or traits are exaggerated.

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Analyze the career of one or more of the leaders in the woman's suffrage movement (Anna Howard Shaw, for example); discriminate between rural and urban influences.

2. Discuss the principles of the Lucy Stone League (one of which is that married women should retain their names) in terms of economic developments in cities.

3. Women's clubs were initiated shortly after the Civil War. Trace

their development during succeeding periods. Analyze the history of a local women's club, attempting to discover its responses to change in the social environment.

4. What changes in the conduct of industry and business act as selective principles in changing the dominant personality types?

5. It is frequently asserted that the "best men" no longer enter politics, but instead devote their talents to business. What is meant by the "best men" in this connection? If the above statment is true, what has brought about this trend?

6. Analyze the careers of a number of wealthy philanthropists with a view to discovering what motives were involved in their philanthropic services.

7. Discuss Sinclair Lewis' novel *Babbitt*. Classify the so-called Babbitt-traits.

8. Why has it happened that in American cities certain nationality groups tend toward the same specialized trades or professions? Why, for example, do Greeks and Italians become boot-blacks or restaurant keepers, etc?

9. Discuss the types urban-radical, urban-bohemian, etc., in terms of available biographical material.

10. What are the traits of the so-called "Broadwayite"?

11. Classify the so-called anti-social types of the city.

12. Explain why the blind beggars in Chicago should attempt to start a union. Would the reasons be wholly economic? In one of the cheaper men's hotels in Chicago was their meeting place. Someone described their behavior in this hotel as friendly and coöperative as a college fraternity. Is this likely?

13. Read Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion*, pp. 81–104, or A. D. Weeks, *The Control of the Social Mind*, pp. 43–51, and discuss the psychological process by which stereotypes arise.

14. Cut out pictures of men and women in different walks of life: social workers, dancers, society women, bankers, chauffeurs, drug clerks, teachers, politicians, athletes, or any other pictures of types. Without identifying these have members of the class pick out and label the types. The larger the assortment the better for the experiment. See if by this method it develops that there are "pictures in the head" for the different types represented.

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. See a series of articles by R. L. Duffus, in the *New York Times Magazine* from January 23 to June 8, 1927.
2. *The New Republic* is publishing a series of articles on American cities. Already there have appeared: "Chicago," by R. M. Lovett, April 20, 1927; "Los Angeles," Bruce Bliven, July 13, 1927; "Salt Lake City," Nels Anderson, Sept. 7, 1927; others are in preparation. A smaller series attempting to describe the social differentiation on the basis of states appeared a few years earlier in *The Nation*, and were later published in a book under the title, *These United States*.
3. *Public Opinion*, Walter Lippman, (New York, 1922); also see *Source Book for Social Psychology*, Kimball Young, pp. 435–450 (New York, 1927).
4. *Theory of the Leisure Class*, Thorstein Veblen (New York, 1918).
5. A good article on the subject, "The Urban Habit of Mind," Howard Woolston, *Amer. Jour. Sociology*, XVII (Mar., 1912): 602.
6. *Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London from the Roman Invasion to the Year 1700*, James P. Malcolm, Vol. 3:313–316 (London, 1811).
7. *The New Yorker*, December 17, 1927.
8. *The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man*, Nels Anderson, (Chicago, 1923).
9. *The Basis of Social Theory*, A. G. A. Balz (New York, 1924). On the social self and social contact see *Principles of Psychology*, W. James, pp. 294–296 (New York, 1890).
10. This point may be tried out on a number of good country life novels or biographies. See *Subsoil*, by Hummell.

XIII

OCCUPATIONAL TYPES

Trends in Occupational Differentiation

In modern cultures people are classified according to what they do. Of course, in some social circles they still inquire of a new acquaintance first of all: "Who are his family?", but increasingly often and particularly in city life, the query becomes: "What does he do?"

This is one of the normal by-products of the industrial revolution and the consequent division of labor. Occupation naturally becomes a criterion of status in any society. In ancient and medieval times the gilds of the towns segregated the people into craft-conscious societies. In India under the caste system occupation becomes one of the primary means of establishing status. People are clean or unclean depending upon what functional group they belong to.

North [1] points out that functional differentiation is characteristic of all civilizations, though never has it run to such extremes as in the modern world. Two aspects of its present manifestation, however, deserve mention: first to be noted is the rapid extension of functional differentiation following upon the industrial revolution. Here is where modern society seems to have gone to extremes. Here division of labor becomes a progressive fact. The more fragmented it becomes the greater, says North, is the evidence of an evolving society.

Second to be noted is the influence of urbanism upon the changes in occupation. This point is illustrated by the following table representing changes in occupation between 1910 and 1920.[2] The classification is that of the 1920 Census which is described as "occupational rather than industrial":

Occupation	*% loss or gain*	*1920 totals*
All occupations	9	41,614,248
1. Agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry	−14	10,953,158
2. Extraction of minerals	13	1,090,223
3. Manufacturing and mechanical industries	21	12,818,524
4. Transportation	15	3,063,582
5. Trade	16	4,242,979
6. Public service (not otherwise classified)	70	770,460
7. Professional service	30	2,143,889
8. Domestic and personal service	−10	3,404,892
9. Clerical occupations	79	3,126,541

Here it is clearly revealed that the losses in agriculture and domestic service are to be accounted for on the basis of the rise of cities. All of those occupations which are definitely related to city life show increases, and the four largest increases occur in clerical, public service, professional, and manufacturing occupations. The demands of the city for occupational differentiation are graphically illustrated in the following tables taken from an article by Evans Clark in the *New York Times* for January 1, 1928:

a. *Occupation of New Yorkers*

Kind of Work	*No. of People in Thousands*	*% of Total*
Manufacturing	863	30
Building trades	212	7
Transportation	272	10
Trade: Retail stores, etc.	442	16
Public Service	68	2
Professional	190	7
Domestic and personal	347	12
Clerical	455	16

b. *Businessmen and Executives*

Retail dealers and shopkeepers	138,000
Manufacturers and officials	44,000
Managers and superintendents	19,000
Bankers	17,000

c. *Professional Workers*

Teachers	38,000
Musicians	17,000
Trained nurses	15,000
Lawyers	14,000
Physicians and surgeons	11,000
Actors and actresses	11,000
Artists	9,000
Authors, editors and reporters	7,500
Clergymen	5,000

d. *Wage Workers*

Semi-skilled operators	410,000
Clerks	233,000
Servants and waiters	170,000
Salesmen and saleswomen	137,000
Laborers	130,000
Bookkeepers, cashiers and accountants	94,000
Stenographers	90,000
Machinists and mechanics, etc.	72,000
Tailors	57,000
Chauffeurs	55,000
Store clerks	43,000
Longshoremen	42,000

e. *Men and Women Workers*

(In thousands)

Occupations	*Men*	*Women*	% *Women*
Building and construction	212	...	..
Manufacturing	632	231	27
Transportation	246	26	10
Trade	381	61	14
Public service	67	1	2
Professional	113	77	41
Domestic and personal service	170	177	52
Clerical	246	209	46
Total	2,067	782	27

(The above estimates are based upon the Federal Census of 1920)

Occupations and Areas

One of the interesting sociological considerations with respect to urban occupations is the manner in which occupational groups, that is, specific functions, tend to group in certain areas. Thus, Broadway typifies the area where the theatrical professions are concentrated. Another group of occupational specialties gathers around the Stock Exchange and banking center called "Wall Street". Not only do we find areas given over to such groups of specialties, but whole communities. Gloversville, New York, is devoted to the manufacture of gloves and is therefore the chief center of the work for the skills related to the industry. In Troy congregate a different aggregate of skills, those needed in the manufacture of collars. The same is true of any of the many shoe manufacturing cities in Massachusetts, or of Akron, Ohio, the rubber-tire city.

Personality and Occupation

The psychological significance of occupations as they tend to condition habits, create attitudes, and form values is important. Psychologically an occupation is specialized behavior, in fact, behavior focused to given ends until patterns of conduct are set up. Once these habits are integrated into all the other habits of the personality then the emotions and intellectual characteristics of the person become involved and to that extent we may say that one's occupation is stamped on his personal make-up. As Dewey says, the patterns of the occupation "determine the chief modes of satisfaction, the standards of success and failure."[8]

There are social and psychic concomitants of the segregation of groups of occupations in areas or communities. People of certain areas are known for the activities of areas. Here we have associational stereotypes that are implanted in the early lessons in geography. We associate coal, iron, steel, and smoke with Pittsburgh. With Chicago we associate stockyards, grain markets,

and railroads, with New England we associate textile mills, while with New Orleans we identify bales of cotton. Detroit is the automobile town, St. Paul the flour town, Denver the mining and tourist town. So as we run through the list we find ourselves associating the people of these different places with the characteristic occupations. They do live in terms of these occupations and know each other in relation to work. This is no less true of the hobos and tramps who, for all their transiency, tend to be classed as loggers and lumberjacks, if they work in the woods; bridge-snakes, if they work on wooden bridges; apple-knockers, berry-glaumers, if they harvest fruit; or harvest-hands if they harvest grain; dirt movers, sheep shearers, beach combers. In these callings, just as in the positions at the other social extreme, for instance, in the financial world, the occupations tend to leave a stamp or mark on the personalities of those who engage in them. Out of the occupations in which people engage, they draw the experience which contributes to make them types reflecting those occupations. People begin to be labeled in terms of their work. Families are identified with lines of work until in all languages names reveal the previous family occupation: Butcher, Baker, Hunter, Barber, Tanner, Painter, Carver, Mason, Carpenter, Plumber, and many others are common, but as yet no names mark the hundreds of new occupations of the present industrial age. Today occupations are not so integral a part of the personality, or our acquaintances might be named Chauffeur or Machinist. Nor do we continue to name streets or parts of streets after the occupations that once clustered there. Yet there is a localization of function which has its own technical terms and slang.[4] The language of an occupation is indeed part of the necessary equipment for functioning in it. In an infinite variety of ways, the person's occupation is assimilated into his manner, his walk, and conversation and into the imagery of his thinking until to the experienced person there is no mistaking the department store floor-walker, the professional politician, or the travelling salesman, now a fast disappearing type. It has often been shown that experienced

crooks know detectives on sight. How they recognize them, they cannot always tell—sometimes by mannerisms, the tip of the hat, the physique, the swing of the arm, the expression on the face, or it may be by the total impression of the personality.

Even if occupational types did not look the part or betray themselves in their conversation, they would be recognized from other marks. The fact that in discourse they are both bored and boring when led afield from their particular interest, while it illustrates the occupational provincialism of specialism, does not tell much about the nature of the specialty. The effects of occupational stratification are very pronounced in the designer of women's dresses. His is a strenuous activity; competition is keen. Styles appear daily in the market and the market is savagely fought for. His mind is on dresses and all the world associated with dress. He looks at a woman and sees a dress. Pausing before a dress display he takes minute mental notes on cuts, lines, and color schemes. His counterpart exists in every division of labor, although in some the occupational stamp is small and not so indelibly set.

Four Occupational Classes

Occupational types may be classed in four groups: unskilled workers, artisans, experts, and specialists. Unskilled workers are the drudges of the occupational scale although a large proportion of the semi-skilled routine workers, machine operators, clerks, and other more or less stereotyped types are at the top. The artisan is a craftsman, a master in the handling of tools instead of machines. He is the skilled workman doing a class of work that is generally standardized but has not been monopolized by the machine. In some respects he is a mere operative, and in others, a technician. In any case he is more likely to be marked psychologically by his job than is the laborer.

Experts and specialists fall into a class apart from laborers and artisans, for want of a better designation, called 'professionals'. They are produced by the same functional differentia-

tion although they enjoy a higher status. In his less important and more routine relations the expert is an artisan. In reference to mechanical production where the operative sees the machine as a whole, or the artisan sees the plant as a whole, the expert sees the plant in its larger setting. In other respects the expert is a technician. He repairs typewriters, reads finger-prints, tastes tea or coffee professionally, cuts diamonds, dresses hair, etc. His skill is incorporated in some routine or technique that resembles a limited craft, or in processes of his own devising. The abilities and skills of the technical expert are, obviously, correlated with certain neuro-muscular coördinations. If their abilities are reduced to habits, the result is efficient functioning. If, on the other hand, work abilities and skills are for creative results, the product approaches the level of art. Mechanized expertness, that is, habitual efficiency, should perhaps be called skill, while pure expertness postulates nothing esthetic. The man who watches the fires in the kilns where charcoal is burned has acquired a skill that approaches art. He can tell by the color of the fire, the glow, how the kiln is burning. Mistaking the color may mean a great loss. The same is true of the man who mixes dyes in the textile industries. The perfectly regulated mechanical piano-player represents sheer skill, though it may not represent art as in the occasional pianist or the dancer whose skills constitute finer neuro-muscular coördinations. It is the difference between following a pattern with skill and having the creative ability to produce the pattern. In either case it is a localized skill, muscular coördinations having much in common with the skill that inheres in the hand of the surgeon who is a specialist. In some respects, the surgeon is in a class with the expert, although he is probably more of an applied scientist than is the dancer or the pianist. Like that of the expert, his skill is sharpened by practice but involves additional background. His proficiency flows from two sources, specialized study and specialized experience or practice. He is the product, not of the work-shop alone but of the laboratory, the study, and the library.

Machine and Personal Skill

Division of labor, which creates laborers and artisans, experts and specialists, is nothing short of paradoxical. At one extreme it leads to simplification and at the other, to complication. The simplifying tendency of specialization among laborers and artisans minimizes the importance of workers, transferring skill to machines. The other extreme of specialization leads to complication, and skill becomes the property of workers.

The tendency toward complication in the division of labor serves to distinguish people, and to group them into well-defined classes. The tendency toward simplification in the division of labor operates to stultify, to standardize, and to level all workers to a single undistinguished plane where they function interchangeably in the different rôles of production. Experts and specialists function in particular rôles, their status depending upon the demand which exists or which they can create for the functions they perform. All division of labor, whether it leads to the simplification or the complication of tasks, leads to expertness. The expertness differs in degree from that of the machine operative to that of the expert or specialist. As it differs in degree, it differs in its market value and in the degree of social prestige and economic security it guarantees its possessor. The expertness of an operative that can be acquired in a few hours or passed on a week later to another operative has next to no value for its possessor in comparison with the skill of the lawyer or of the accountant that is acquired only through years of application. The satisfactions attending stereotyped expertness are meager. On the other hand, the expertness of the professional, besides being an escape from the work routine of the lesser occupations, is satisfying because it is creative, setting patterns for the stereotyped lesser degrees of expertness which ultimately abide in machines.

Occupations and Social Strata

The social status to which the professional person is consigned is often a reflection of the status of his occupation. Whether he is honored or is without honor depends upon the traditions that have grown up around his work. By these same tokens the members of his family are given their social ratings. In some European towns, for instance, the sons of undertakers have difficulty in securing wives, particularly if there is a likelihood that they, too, will be undertakers. Even in the United States undertakers, self-styled "morticians," are not free from these social stigmata.

Being known and stratified for one's occupation is akin to being consigned to certain patterns of living consistent with that station of life. The same public opinion that consigns the laborer to one standard of living and the artisan to another, also defines the social and professional status of the specialist or the expert. That in turn impresses upon him a certain brand of cosmopolitanism, or should we call it a degree of sophistication, which tends to prescribe the kind of home he must aspire to, the kind of car he should drive, the clubs he should belong to, and even the magazines and papers he is expected to read. So it determines the social sets that his family may move in as well as what educational goal he should set for his children. These social edicts or stratifying forces that impinge upon him tend more and more to identify him with certain points of view as they do with certain groups and his behavior becomes the uniform behavior of a class. However cosmopolitan he may become in his general relationships, all the traditions within his occupational group and all the pressures from without serve to isolate him socially and professionally until he is converted into a personality reflecting his profession.

Personality in Occupational Change

Some measure of the responsiveness of personality to occupation may be noted in the changes in type in some callings. As labor

organizations have swung from a method of belligerence to one of diplomacy and bargaining, the type of the labor leader has also changed. The old-style leader was massive and impelling, blustering and florid in the face of opposition. His reading was limited to newspapers, and he had few intellectual interests. He had emphatic opinions but no knowledge or interest in the philosophy, economics, or sociology of the labor movement. Those he scorned as the practical politician scorns political theory. The new labor leader is an intellectual, wiry, lean, alert. He reads a great deal, writes, publishes, and is usually well informed. Primed with facts and figures, he comes to a convention or committee meeting. He does not jam things through the convention. He has a better way, that of previously pulling the wires, of trading and wielding pressure. Even when he is dramatic, as many present labor leaders are, he is more effective than his predecessor. The newspaper reporter has gone through a similar evolution. Once he was a sleuth hooking and crooking for news, terrifying people with the fear of publicity, even going to the ends of creating news. Now he has become a person of considerable status, exceedingly sophisticated in his private life but professionally completely subordinated to the tone of his paper. So impersonally does he look upon the news that without disrupting his own private life he can shift from a paper of one policy to another of an entirely different policy. In the medical man is found an equally thorough transformation. The early doctor was a community man, a general practitioner. He was a pillar of society, a sort of medical bishop to his neighbor-clients. To a degree the family physician still survives but now he has a business " front ", and is less of a final authority upon any but the most obvious and commonplace ailments. Instead, he acts as an outpost or routing agent for the hundreds of varieties of specialists in the populous centers. Not infrequently these general practitioners by chance or design become identified with specialized practices.[5]

Dictatorship of the Expert

Experts and specialists threaten to preëmpt the seats of power once occupied by kings and priests. The divine right to rule is being gradually superseded by the rational duty to dictate. Scientific method is the new gospel, the professional occupations, its apostles. The professionals are not prophets crying in the wilderness, at least where urban culture reigns; they sit, if not in the seats of the mighty, at least at the right hand of governments, universities, industries, and philanthropies. They speak in tones of finality in the name of science, the great transformer, the coördinator, the key of knowledge, and the only reliable guide to social control and progress. They radiate into society unmixed confidence in the capacity of science for overcoming every difficulty that may overtake the human race, for controlling public opinion, and for predicting the future. They are the authoritarians of the highly integrated machine age.

Society waits submissively upon the authoritarianism of the professionals because they are on the frontier of creative knowledge. This acceptance is a mark of urbanism. The municipal government of the City of New York, for instance, has employed as many as 100,000 persons listed as experts, ranging alphabetically from arboriculturists to zymotic disease specialists. In no great city is there an equal recognition of the authoritarianism of tradition which in some commonwealths is at work enacting statutes forbidding the teaching of evolution or research in the more intimate fields of social science. It is the submission to scientific authoritarians that we find in the urban mind; the fear of it in the more retarded rural mind.

A changing society calls for endless adaptation, and for highly coördinated solutions of problems. Out of this demand the professional worker emerges. Whether as a pure scientist, an applied scientist, or a lesser technician he is bending his attention to problem-solving. The pure scientist is farthest from the problem, the technician nearest it. Sometimes the remoteness of the pure

scientist is taken to be a complete detachment, although this is probably not the case. Theoretical sociology is sometimes considered a discipline apart from reality. The same charge is brought against other theoretical sciences by their respective applied branches. The fact is that even the most remote of the pure sciences may be and is being "stepped down" to the utility plane where in its application it involves the services of experts and specialists.

The two functions, fact-finding and fact-using, may of course be combined in the same person although when the scientist begins to apply his data he assumes the rôle of expert or specialist. Often when he does "step down", something of the scientist's disinterestedness invariably disappears, is lost or vitiated in the emotional attitudes he may share toward the problem. As a scientist he serves no interests but fact-finding. As a professional he is constantly being thrown into controversial situations where he may want, or may be expected, to take sides on issues, presenting one set of facts while other experts or specialists present other sets of facts. Under oath one psychiatrist finds the defendant sane, another equally prominent psychiatrist testifies that the defendant is insane. Experts for the employer find that a family can maintain a decent standard of living on eighteen dollars a week; experts for the employees find that a family cannot maintain a decent standard of living under twenty-five dollars a week. Charging that the smelter smoke destroys all their crops, the farmers of a region sue a smelter for damages. When the evidence is brought into court, experts for the company show how smoke could not do such damage. Such examples of a perverted use of science are not rare, showing the damaging rôle the professional man can play when he becomes partisan. Of course there are numberless instances to the contrary in which the findings of science are faithfully utilized. Outstanding instances are the great corporations — General Electric, General Chemical, Bell Telephone, and the oil, gas, electric, railway, and other companies — for which experts and specialists contrive to perfect the mechan-

ical processes by which the machine continues its displacement of human labor, or reduces large numbers of people to the stereotyped rôles of machine operatives. At the same time they are creating other openings for professionals, and rendering more secure the position of experts and specialists. The other side of the picture is that these same professionals, by their creative efforts, increase the comfort and security of the population generally — shortening the work-day, raising the standard of living, and increasing man's control over nature.

Apparent Trends in Specialism

In the future, we shall have more rather than fewer experts and specialists. Our educational system is founded upon faith in division of labor as the basis for increased professional opportunities, the most assuring escape from the monotony of routine work. It is geared and articulated for the primary purpose of producing the professional types. The objective of graduate schools is to render the student proficient in one subject even at the expense of being ignorant in many others, and they increase in size and number in order to enable the scholars of so-called liberal colleges to earn a living. A cursory review of the titles of graduate theses reveals to what extreme specialism has gone and continues to go. The complaint is often voiced against the university that it continues to create specialists who have difficulty in making special niches into which to fit. Each year a new crop is poured into the city where it aggravates the problem arising out of occupational differentiation. At the same time, the social organization becomes more complex.

There is no turning back to the well-rounded liberal education. We are committed to specialism. We can have science, technologies, and order on no other terms, and they are probably more to be desired than a return to the bunglings of well-rounded men. Our present social and economic order, particularly in its urban aspects, is founded upon mechanism and system, and these can

operate only through specialization and expert functioning. "Effective knowledge," says Whitehead,[6] "is professionalized knowledge, supported by a restricted acquaintance with useful subjects subservient to it." But he adds also, "Wisdom is the fruit of balanced development."[7] This is our problem: to secure balance under the necessities of specialization.

Scientists and philosophers are now coming to view life and the universe in terms of organic wholes. We shall hear much more in the future about the "organism as a whole,"[8] "the total situation," and what the Germans call the *Gesammtsituation*.[9] In the field of psychology this tendency to emphasize not only the side of atomic analysis but also organic synthesis has received fresh impetus in the general swing toward the *Gestalt* or "configuration" theory. The *Gestalt* approach to the study of human behavior holds that the organism as a whole responds to the situation as a whole; that there is no unmixed stimulus and no unmixed response. Yet it is obvious that phenomena tend to break into many relatively distinct but related elements. In science they constitute so many special pursuits of divisions, parts, and fractions of the total process of human relationship. These, the atomic aspects of things, are convenient abstractions, useful assumptions for the purposes of scientific research. By the same token experts and specialists as representatives of these specified, divided aspects of science are merely expedient instrumentalities for getting something done. This point of view was, of course, impossible so long as we postulated distinct and basic differentiations between the sciences — so long, for example, as we believed that physicists and chemists were dealing with essentially different materials.[10]

The modern world is committed to a problem-solving sequence which includes scientific methodology, scientists, technologists, and machines. With the chaos of functional differentiation the ordinary wayfaring citizen is bewildered by the integrating of the parts into larger and larger wholes. Rarely does he comprehend the process as a whole. He sees only the part or contributing

process to which he is submitting, and can, therefore, have no intelligent attitude toward it. Science, experts, and machines have come to be external controls, and as such function by virtue of an unstable and unwholesome authority. The discipline of an age which is rapidly becoming scientific *appears* to be contrary to, or at least incongruous with, deep-seated impulses, habits, and customs which define values inherent in human nature. The civilization emerging from this unresolved conflict tends toward a system of valuation in which things and technologies are primary, while esthetic appreciations, liberal ideals, and spiritual aspirations are submerged or dropped from the equation of life. This constitutes the greatest maladjustment of our age; cultural sterility is its inevitable shadow. This is the lot of the great mass of people leveled in their functioning to unthinking mediocrity by the simplifying process at the lower extreme of the division of labor. The process of differentiation has been so rapid and devastating that the problem of social adjustment is largely one of a tardy orientation on the part of the great mass of people.[11] While the experts and specialists have a vigorous differentiation of function, the masses have been stranded at the unstimulating tasks of turning cranks and pulling levers, or spending their lives in even more minute functions of the productive process.

Over-specialization

This drift toward what is sometimes called over-specialization is loudly denounced by certain students of human society.[12] The evil they see inheres in the impersonal stamp that the machine is putting on work. Admitting that the fruits of specialization are economy, efficiency, and skill in production, it is maintained that human interest in work is thereby crushed for all but the specialists and experts, and that the most dependent of persons is the worker who has been highly trained for a minute task, for instance, a blacksmith, a carpenter who makes staircases by hand, a hack driver in the modern city. As so many critics

point out, if the advantages related only to the menaces to health, there would be no great alarm because health hazards are gradually being eliminated from industry.

But increasing alarm is expressed on account of the non-stimulating effect of routine work which requires no creative effort. As mechanization increases, it appears that creative expression is confined more and more to a diminishing group of artists and managers while monotony becomes the lot of a growing group. It is to be noted, for example, that in 1870 the gainfully employed workers of the United States included eighty-one and five-tenths per cent industrial workers, farmers, and domestics; ten and six-tenths per cent were middle-salaried workers, seven and nine-tenths per cent, proprietors, officials, and professionals. In 1920, the proportions of these three classes had changed to seventy-one per cent, fourteen and seven-tenths per cent, and fourteen and two-tenths per cent, respectively. The decrease is to be found in agricultural workers and domestic servants while the increase goes to proprietary, official, and professional workers. On the face of these figures it does not seem that the situation gives cause for alarm since the increases are in those managerial and professional occupations where it is presumed that some portion of individual creative effort is still possible. However, it should be recalled that of the seventy-one per cent of the gainfully employed in industrial, agricultural, and domestic service, the larger and increasing proportion goes to industry, where employment tends more and more toward mechanization. As further indication of the more recent changes in occupation, the following table [18] may be analyzed:

	1920	*1910*
Blacksmiths	195,255	232,957
Brick and stone masons	131,264	169,402
Electricians	212,964	120,241
Glass blowers	9,144	15,564
Paper hangers	18,746	25,577
Harness and saddle industry	18,135	22,650
Paper and pulp mills	54,669	36,383

	1920	1910
Rubber factories	86,204	31,593
Chauffeurs	285,045	45,785
Bankers	161,613	105,804
Chemists, etc.	32,941	16,273
Trained nurses	149,128	82,327
Bartenders	26,085	101,234
Saloon keepers	17,835	68,215

Occupational Differentiation

Occupational differentiation occurs as need dictates just as inventions are made when there is a demand; there is almost always some form of stimulation due to contact with outside influences, or to a changing natural environment, or to population increase. Differentiation continues to whatever point pays best, or to the point where the pressure of the inconveniences forces a halt, after which stabilization begins. Where there is any approach to a division of labor, any society has its experts and specialists, even the pre-literate communities with their witches and witch doctors who communed with the spirits and caused rain. The more advanced the society, and hence the more differentiated, the larger the variety and number of experts and specialists. Moreover, the more a society is differentiated occupationally, the larger the central community around which it revolves — once the village, then the town, then the small city, and finally the metropolis.

The metropolitan city is yet new. In its new rôle as world market it is only finding itself. When it does approach some state of equilibrium we may expect to see a great deal of specialization as between cities and a great deal more as between areas within cities. In the economy of production and exchange cities are most secure when they specialize in the products produced easiest from the raw materials available. This will amount to a world-wide division of labor with the accompanying occupational differentiation. The trend of change is in this direction.

Whether in the ultimate it will lead to a caste system along

occupational lines remains to be seen. Certain it is that in every previous economic arrangement, once the processes of production and consumption had reached a state of balance, there emerged classes along occupational lines. We already have the beginnings of the tendency of groups to " clique " together, only the changing nature of things does not permit their lines to be intact for long. Where the group does hold together as in certain social circles, we see the beginnings of hereditary exclusiveness. It is also evident that certain occupations are very much honored, others not. But whatever the status of the occupation it constitutes one of the chief differentiating factors in building personality. In this multifarious division of labor with the narrowing specialization in each occupation and the consequent differentiation of the city population into functioning or behavior types we have a partial explanation of the many-sided nature of modern urban life.

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In the June, 1925 issue, No. 9, Vol. I of *American Speech,* appears an article by Leroy E. Bowman entitled " The Terminology of Social Workers." The author suggests that social workers have evolved a special nomenclature, a special jargon, which emanates from their work and their habits. Compile similar lists of terms which bear the same relation to other occupational groups.

2. The gilds of the Middle Ages represented a particular kind of specialization. Why did the gilds disappear? In what respects do present-day organizations along occupational lines resemble or differ from gilds?

3. In his discussion of specialization in modern life, Whitehead (*Science and the Modern World,* p. 276) writes: " The leading intellects lack balance. They see this set of circumstances, or that set; but not both sets together. The task of coördination is left to those who lack either the force or the character to succeed in some definite career. In short, the specialized functions of the community are performed better and more progressively, but the generalized direction lacks vision." Discuss this point of view in terms of municipal government.

4. Classify occupational types belonging to the upper, middle, and lower classes. How are these related to each other?

5. Various occupations are recruited in such manner that the re-

sulting group comes to follow a selective principle. Thus, it is often said that a person conforms to the "clerical type"; he looks like a Y. M. C. A. secretary; he behaves like a traveling salesman; etc. Compile a list of occupational types, and then attempt to enumerate the various traits which belong to each.

6. Occupational types frequently come to be conceived popularly in terms of certain stereotypes. Thus, a professor is designated as a person of slight stature, with a sagging right shoulder, judicious of speech, etc. Select photographs of occupational types from newspapers and magazines, and test members of the class and others to see whether or not these stereotypes are realities.

7. Is there a politician type in the United States? Characterize the type. Select illustrations of actual persons to verify or contradict the characterizations.

8. Sorokin maintains (*Social Mobility*, p. 101) that "in any given society, the more occupational work consists in the performance of the functions of social organization and control, and the higher the degree of intelligence necessary for the successful performance, the more privileged is that group and the higher rank does it occupy in the inter-occupational hierarchy, and vice versa." He holds that the "manual nature of an occupational work, the low intelligence necessary for its performance, and a remote relation to the functions of social organization and control, all run parallel and are correlated. On the other hand, we see the same parallelism and correlation among: the "intellectual nature" of an occupational work, the high intelligence necessary for it, and its connection with the functions of social organization and control." Discuss.

9. Why do certain industries locate in given places? Use illustrations. Grand Rapids, Michigan, for example, is known as the furniture town; many of its allied industries use the same types of skilled labor. Originally, furniture manufacturing became a specialized industry in this region because of the proximity of lumber; this is no longer true but the furniture business continues in the same area. Why?

10. In what sense may it be said that land, labor, and capital are in themselves forms of specialization?

11. Study a program for vocational guidance with a view of determining to what extent guidance is based upon individual capacities and to what extent upon industrial needs.

12. Discuss these two questions proposed by Leon Marshall in his book called *Industrial Society*, p. 376: (a) "What fixes the mechanical limit of specialization? (b) What fixes the commercial limit?"

13. In "Personality Types and the Division of Labor," *Amer. Jour.*

of Soc., March, 1928, E. C. Hughes says, "Occupational selection becomes a major process to which social organization is incidental. This selection becomes a fierce process which begins anew each day, atomizing families and tearing them loose from their soil." If true, illustrate.

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. *Social Differentiation*, C. C. North, p. 10 (Chapel Hill, 1927).
2. "Occupations in the United States," by Robert M. Brown, *Atlantic Monthly*, XVIII (Feb., 1924): 199.
3. "Interpretation of the Savage Mind," by John Dewey, *Psychological Review*, XI (1902): 217–230. Deals in part with the differentiating influence of occupations.
4. "The Occupational Attitude," by E. S. Bogardus, *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII (1924): 172–176.
5. *Pygmalion, or the Doctor of the Future*, R. M. Wilson (London, 1925).
6. *Science and the Modern World*, A. N. Whitehead, p. 275 (New York, 1925).
7. Same, p. 277.
8. *Physiological Foundations of Behavior*, C. M. Child (Chicago, 1924). A good presentation of the view that the organism is more than the sum of its parts. This is *Gestalt* from the biological approach.
9. *Creative Experience*, M. P. Follett, pp. 114–116 (New York, 1924). This constitutes a sociological view of the same tendency to study the individual in relation to the total situation.
10. *Science and the Modern World*, see above.
11. See article on cultural lag and the family *mores*, by F. Stuart Chapin, *Journal of Applied Sociology*, March–April, 1926. He illustrates by a stratified column how in a new environment material culture surges ahead while non-material culture lags. In the intervening region left by the different rates of movement there is strain and friction.
12. On the evils and advantages of specialization, see *The Social Problem: Life and Work*, J. A. Hobson (London, 1902). Also *Fatigue and Efficiency*, Josephine Goldmark (New York, 1912). Still more recent is *Industry's Coming of Age*, R. G. Tugwell (New York, 1927).
13. *Practical Social Science*, John A. Lapp, p. 87 (New York, 1926).

XIV

DIVERGENT URBAN GROUPS

Urban Gregariousness

Closer examination of the types presented in the previous chapters would reveal that the individual personalities are really representatives of groups; that is, almost every urban personality comes from an urban group, a group of kindred spirits. In short, if every personality were expanded with respect to its social or group relationships, we should have a classification of urban groups. In a sense this would be too formal a method and would doubtless lead to specious analogies. It is sufficient that there are groups in the city — many kinds of groups — in terms of which the individual attains and retains his status. Although in some connections he may rate as an individual, his thinking and living are really in collective terms. At the base of the group character of human society, particularly urban society, lie the interests which are at stake. People form groups because they need each other in meeting the day-to-day problems of living, and for other psychological or social reasons, sometimes covered by the blanket term, gregariousness.

Gregariousness is frequently described as instinctive behavior; man is social, unfolding in societal situations. Although opinion differs, superficial evidences, at least, exist of a natural gregariousness. Individuals vary with respect to the degree of satisfaction they derive from social contact and intercourse. Most people are unmistakably unhappy when left alone; they have somehow become sensitized to social stimulation. On the other hand, some exceptional individuals appear to thrive in isolation. From such observations we may conclude that there appear to be what the instinctivist would call predispositions toward or away

from sociality. The behaviorist, who sees all response mechanisms and even emotional reactions as the result of experience, would explain man's social nature in terms of habit. Physical and social objects (persons and objects to which he attributes personal qualities) constitute the total environment to which he is habituated. He would suffer loneliness if he were separated from one as much as from the other. Human society is a vital part of his environment, but if, like the farmer, he has built his associational habits in terms of contacts with animals he is often able to isolate himself indefinitely without being lonely.

In community life, particularly in large cities, human society constitutes the greater part of the environment to which the individual responds. It is his chief source of stimulation, or at least it is so tied into the total environment that without it the situation to which the individual must respond becomes unfamiliar. In the small community, the individual is able to include in his associational range the total population. As the community increases in size this becomes more difficult and the individual's associational range will be confined to a particular locality or neighborhood. But when the community grows still larger, breaking up into a number of functional areas, and the population is divided into a number of functional tasks, then the individual's social environment changes materially. In a general sense he includes the total population in his associational range, but more specifically and intimately his social environment is confined to a number of particularized associational groups. The total social environment of the larger community is highly segmented in factions, circles, or groups, some of which touch the individual intimately, others remotely. Between these various groups as they touch his life and to the degree that he shares with them a common experience, his interest is divided. As these groups are functional necessities in the individual's life, they are also objects of interest.

Economic Interest Groups

By the concept "interest" we mean that a certain phenomenon (here it is a social group) has become an object of attention.

It is an incentive force, a specialized stimulus to behavior. Lester Ward insisted that all interest is economic;[1] though he recognized other interests, they were tinged with economic determinism. Even religion was economic. This unmixed, unit definition tends to become modified in the light of growing psychological knowledge of human conduct. It is probably more nearly correct to say that in all primary interests the economic factor may be found. Small found six interests: health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty, and rightness.[2] Sumner found four "motives": hunger, love, fear, and vanity.[3] Thomas suggests the four "wishes", namely, for security, recognition, response, new experience.[4] All of these interests, motives, or wishes are recognized to be mixed in almost every occasion so that no behavior is attributable to any single one. Perhaps all would agree that every activity of man which is not the direct result of force or duress is started on its way by reason of some satisfaction to be gained, and "any aim or object which stimulates activity toward its attainment" may be called an interest. "The whole life process, so far as we know it, whether viewed in its individual or in its social phase, is at last the process of developing, adjusting, and satisfying interests."[5] Satisfactions have their corresponding values; we strive for those satisfactions which we have somehow fitted into our scheme of valuation. It therefore seems true that a society which has come to place pecuniary values high in the scale will also be one in which interests are largely dominated by economic values. If, in this same society, it happens that certain groups have demonstrated that interests are more readily conserved through collective action, it will be seen that the economic explanation of group-life will be extremely useful. The society in which we live is, patently, one in which pecuniary valuations receive high ratings. Moreover, it is precisely in the midst of harsh urban competition that we are likely to find the most definite manifestation of this phenomenon, namely, group life founded upon economic interest.

On each side of the economic wall are a class of interest groups which in some measure typify our thesis: organized manufacturers, employers, or business promoters on the one hand, and

organized workers on the other. In these instances it is obvious that economic interest represents the drive or the urge toward collective or group life. The gilds of the Middle Ages were social groups with economic bases, closed societies, in many cases constituting a culture apart from the larger collectivity which was generally the town or city.[6] Within the groups were doubtless the many interests that explain human conduct, but the gilds' relation to the rest of society was largely in terms of the single economic interest that distinguished them. The trade unions likewise form a group life around the principle of a collective interest which finds expression in bargaining. It is a group motive and as such serves as a key to group conduct. Organized workers maintain, in simple terms, that they can secure more of the total income by acting together than by acting individually. Likewise busy merchants and industrialists would not endure the annoyance of attending meetings and paying dues if they did not believe that it is to the advantage of their interests to do so. Occasionally it happens that an interest group with primary economic motives disavows these motives in lieu of some philanthropic goal but this is seldom more than a rationalization after the fact. Michels has clearly shown how it comes about that all special-interest groups, even democratic political parties, strive to interpret their selfish aims in terms of the good-of-the-whole.[7] Frequently this appeal to the good-of-the-whole is the most effective means of achieving the good of those organized on behalf of their own interests; this is especially true in societies which make democatic pretensions.

Various Interest Groups

Next in the scale of interest-groups found predominantly in urban areas are professional or service organizations. Engineers, physicians, lawyers, social workers, and experts of all varieties have discovered that there are distinct advantages in collective action. Frequently such organizations affirm other mo-

tives, such as education, mutual exchange of experience, etc., but even these may easily be reduced to economic terms. Even artists find it expedient to hold joint exhibits for the purpose of popularizing and merchandizing their wares. During recent years, many of these professional or occupational groups have attempted to exercise ethical functions within their circle of influence. One hears of "business and professional codes" which presume to set the standard of conduct for all members in good standing. It is easy to see that such codes come to mean "good business" in the sense of *more* business, but it would be a mistake to overlook the fact that other types of prestige are also involved in such group standards. For example, a lawyer who behaves unethically, in such manner as to degrade the profession, degrades in addition each of his professional associates. This may not, at least directly, affect income but it is sure to influence social status. On the whole, it may be said that professional or expert groups strive for the attainment of three primary goals: economic or pecuniary advancement, professional or technical standing, and ethico-social prestige, of which the first-named constitutes the force of elemental cohesion. As the organization secures certain advantages for its members which in their turn contribute to economic security, the other and secondary aims become increasingly important.

In utilizing the economic-motive principle to explain so large a portion of urban group organization, there is always room for considerable doubt when certain effects in human conduct are ascribed to single causes. Human behavior is much too complex for such over-simplified explanations. Economics may constitute the focus for a given interest, but once activity begins in the direction of the chosen goal other motives and other interests are brought within the current of activity. Also, after activity has persisted sufficiently long to allow for the beginnings of habit-formation, motives are even more difficult to distinguish. For example, a member of a merchants' and manufacturers' organization may continue his association with it for what seem to him are purely sociable or recreational reasons long after the group has

served him in business. In such cases habits of sociability and intercourse, having been established during a period of stress and danger, continue long after the original interest has been secured. These considerations lead to the examination of another type of urban group which cannot be satisfactorily interpreted on economic grounds.

Service and Control Groups

In Chicago there are 750, and in the City of New York some 1200 organizations, societies, agencies, and clubs whose chief interest is to serve others without remuneration. These are the instruments of special groups to help their own people or to guide and control society. Over four hundred of these agencies are organized for general relief. Philanthropic, charitable and reform groups tend to multiply out of proportion to any single correlative variable in urban life. One might expect, for example, that such groups would increase during times of economic depression and consequent suffering by the masses and that by the same token they would diminish when prosperity arrived. On the contrary, their growth is by steady arithmetic progression. Indeed in every city of size, a distinct, professional personality has now come into existence: the organizer of voluntary reform groups. He, or she, since the field is increasingly occupied by women, is usually a person with a single idea which seems sufficiently important to warrant the consecration of his or her life to its achievement. Since ideas cannot make headway in the busy life of modern cities unless they become collectively adopted and thereby gain volume, such persons have developed a standard technique for bringing new groups into existence. Once formed, these groups become the vested or favorite interest of the organizer and usually of one or two of the more important financial supporters. So in one sense at least, they come within the economic category: for through the promotion and perpetuation of them, people earn their livelihoods. However, this explains only one sector of the

motive-front of such groups. It does not, for example, explain why persons who already have social prestige and status as well as financial income will devote themselves to such interests at the risk of losing both. For deeper explanations of the multitudinous philanthropic and reform groups in American cities one must turn to psychology; unusual devotion to a cause is obviously very often a compensation for something lacking in the life of the devotee. In the case of certain wealthy individuals, for example, it appears that from a material point of view they possess all that seems of value, but upon closer analysis one often finds that they are bored with their "class", or "set" and wish to escape its deadening influence. Often they are persons of physical or sociable deficiencies of which they are sadly conscious, or they may belong to a racial or national group which has not yet been fully accepted by the élite, and in such instances they can find equal solace by receiving the adulations of those who are willing to fight for the right. On the other hand, individuals without wealth have by sheer persistence in the interest of a cause won for themselves a kind of prestige which wealth alone could never purchase. If their group lasts long enough, the time will arrive when the oldest member will be held in special reverence.

Group Continuity

One of the peculiarities of voluntary reform groups is their persistency in the face of obstacles. Added to this is the still less understandable quality of going on and on, rationalizing failure even to the point of reveling in it, when success seems farther and farther away. Every large city, for example, has its group of single-taxers who began their existence some sixty, fifty, forty, or thirty years ago; the goal of their effort seems farther away today than it did at one or another of those past dates, but the organizations still continue. Another phenomenon is the persistence of such groups after their goal has been achieved. Some agencies have been organized to get a law passed and then

continued in existence to enforce the law. This is of course partially explained upon the grounds that the paid officials now have a vested interest and must continue the organization in order to make themselves financially secure. Individuals who have found a pleasant, and especially an effective, way of group action build up habits in the process; when their initial task is completed, these habits prompt them to go on in the ways of group life. These two motives, the habit drive with its consequent satisfactions and the vested interest of the organizer, suffice to explain, at least in part, why it is that organizations of this type tend always to increase in number.

The reason for the existence of such social, reform and service groups themselves must also be sought in that innate concern of every group over some particular aspect of the life of the larger community. Some groups try to encompass in their interest all the affairs of the entire community. As we point out in a later chapter on social control, the basic reason is the desire of the group for control and prestige. This will to control and guide some part or all of the total life of the community is true of even the most altruistic groups.

"Isms" and Group Cohesion

In addition to the service, philanthropic, and reform groups mentioned above, and perhaps belonging to much the same category, are religious societies. In the city these are extremely specialized and often exert a powerful influence upon the life of the total urban population. It is true that this varies from city to city and probably diminishes with the size of the city, being stronger in a town, than in a larger city where personalities count for less. Instead of trying to be the conscience of the city, such an aggregate in New York or Chicago would concentrate its energy on one or another of many specific causes. Rural territories and villages are split into few religious denominations and every problem of the community is the concern of every church. In urban com-

munities this would not be possible, and is rarely attempted. The result is that religion diffuses into many ventures and " isms ", the newest of which often fare as well as the most established churches. Such groups furnish the scene of a unique kind of fellowship or sociality. They are frequently to be classified along economic lines, the wealthy attendants sharply distinguishable from the less wealthy. In such cases, church fellowship often carries with it a distinct economic connotation. Indeed in certain cities, particularly of the middle group in size, it is said that membership in a given church society practically guarantees economic success. On the other hand, urban churches at times include in the membership persons from diverse economic groups.

The groups mentioned above may be roughly classified as functional or vital-interest groups. In seeking a clue to their origin and perpetuation one needs to understand what interest or interests are at the center of the group's activities. The principle of social cohesion is not consciousness-of-kind, but rather consciousness-of-interest. Consciousness-of-kind may, of course, evolve from the processes of collective action and when groups of this category are observed at a somewhat mature period, they frequently give the appearance of associations held together by their socio-psychological similarities; they begin, that is, by joining in collective action in order to protect a mutual interest, but they may emerge into a more or less complete mutuality which far surpasses the interest-motive. The following excerpt is taken from an article on the suburb written by a woman who feels that the present attempts on the part of so many urbanites to escape the city by moving to the suburbs are futile. They settle in a twilight zone that she claims has all the evils of village life and few of the advantages of the city. She calls suburban life a social stew with all the narrowness, snobbery, social rating according to wealth and " all the age-old protective mechanisms, class distinctions, and social clashes " of Main Street. Thus she compares urban and suburban community organization:

The great social principle which has made the city a great institution is the passing from the *neighbor* and hereditary social basis of the small town to the *interest* social basis of the city. By this I mean that in the small town the social life is based on your neighbors and the social place you are born into. In the city social life is based on the association of people with like interests. There are literary groups, music groups, business groups, chemical groups, athletic groups, political groups, etc. Clubs and organizations are the social methods for this purpose. At the Advertising Club or the Chemist's Club or the Arkwright Clubs in New York you meet people of distinctly subdivided interests, and that is, after all, the finest, soundest basis of friendship, as it is of love.[8]

Racial and Nationality Groups

Also prominent in the life of any cosmopolitan community are the racial and nationality groups, "the strangers" who come from other cultures and who represent different backgrounds. These groups — Italian, German, Polish, Greek, Negro, Jewish, Chinese, and others — constitute aggregates formed according to the principle of consciousness-of-kind.[9] Immigrants coming into an alien environment seek the level of the culture from which they have departed. The language necessity alone is sufficient to explain this and behind language stands grim economic necessity. In short, the immigrant must, if he is to get on in his new environment, communicate himself, his desires, needs and wishes, and he naturally goes to the people who understand him. Often he has been persuaded to emigrate because of an invitation from one of his fellow-countrymen who is already settled in the new land. As a consequence of these various forces, most large cities include numerous "social islands" or immigrant-nationality groups which have been formed by the accretions of new arrivals.[10] Indeed this phenomenon has come to be one of the chief concerns of applied sociologists, politicians, and ethnologists.

The so-called "problem of the immigrant" has been the subject of lively public discussion during the last half-century; a wealth of literature concerning immigrants has arisen, and the

problem has at times assumed major importance in the nation's politics. Stated in briefest form, it centers about these questions: (a) Should the United States permit immigrants to enter indiscriminately? (b) If not, which immigrants are needed or wanted? (c) What effect does immigration exert upon our culture, our economic system, our morals? (d) Should immigrants be permitted to cluster together in these "social islands" or should there be some method of social control whereby they could be dispersed? (This query takes on many forms: Should intermarriage between varying racial stocks be encouraged or forbidden? Does intermixture of races, biologically and culturally, tend toward progression or retrogression? If immigrants are not quickly "Americanized," will these partially isolated groups not constitute a danger to our social structure?) [11] These questions have been so far answered through legislation that the United States may be said to have adopted a definite immigration policy of regulating both the number and the quality of immigrants. Our welcome to the immigrant has cooled with the passing of free land. Our policy goes so far as to condone the practice of specific racial discrimination; thus, Japanese, Chinese, and South European immigrants are less favored than Irish, German, and Scandinavian. Something approaching an Americanization program actually exists; immigrants are obviously appealed to and coerced in many ways to drop their older cultural traits, even to be ashamed of their names, and to adopt American ways quickly. The following table, taken from Otto Ammon's *Gesellschaftsordnung* (p. 145), represents three generations of rural migrants from the country to the city of Karlsruhe, Germany.[12]

	Per cent of Each Generation: —			
Generation	*Lower Classes*	*Middle Classes*	*Professional Classes*	*Total*
Immigrants	82	14	4	100
Their sons	41	49	10	100
Their grandsons	40	35	25	100

The process of vertical mobility is even more rapid in the United States which is euphemistically called a "melting-pot" in which all the racial stocks of the world are to be assimilated, amalgamated, or fused. This policy, which tends more and more to be tacitly accepted, is not wholly sanctioned by social scientists and social workers. Ethnologists, anthropologists, and sociologists are not as firmly convinced of the soundness of this policy of discrimination as are the politicians and patriots. These are questions which belong to specialized study; our present concern is merely to point out the significance of these immigrant groups for the life of urban communities.

Immigrants give variety and color to the urban scene and in part constitute one of the chief factors in the dynamic life of the city, challenging those aspects of our culture which tend toward conformity and standardization, and often being influential in city government.[18] With more Italians in New York City than in Rome, more Irish in Boston than in Dublin, more Poles in Detroit than in Warsaw, the mere fact of numbers is certain to affect political processes and policies. Politicians are not slow to recognize the potentialities in these immigrant votes and a candidate frequently comes to be accepted as the representative of a foreign nationality group. There can be no doubt that the Irish have reached the point of domination in the political life of Boston, for example, and in Chicago, Germans and Negroes have come to be a deciding factor, while in New York ascendancy tends to go toward the Jewish residents. Thus a group which comes into existence on the basis of likeness or similarity may evolve into an interest group. The formation of the immigrant group is due to reasons of proximity induced by like-mindedness, but if such a group is not too quickly dispersed it soon takes other functions and sponsors other interests, all of which insure the survival of its own unique characteristics.

Memory Groups

The city is also the scene of activity as well as the appropriate locale for associations, aptly called *memory groups*, which have come into existence by reason of some cherished common memory or experience, and in terms of this they unite. The primary motive which explains alumni associations of colleges and universities is the urge to continue or project experience, although many perform other functions; frequently they make bold pretenses to continue some sort of control over their alma mater, but this too is a memory projection since most alumni action tends toward maintaining some standard which existed when the members were students. If the college happens to be some small institution in the hinterland it is apt to attempt to use these alumni associations as means for controlling its graduates who have gone to the city. Through such organizations the college hopes to hold the loyalty of its former students, especially those who win reputation and prosperity. Alumni associations representing the larger institutions of learning frequently develop social and even vocational or economic functions. Their club-houses are often built in a grandiose style and their members form a tradition of sociability and culture. At such clubs, meetings between recent graduates and former successful graduates often eventuate in definite business opportunities for the former. One large eastern university sends many of its law graduates to New York City where its former law graduates have constituted themselves into an alumni association. There has grown up a working relation between the university and the association wherein definite salaries are paid graduates depending on the grades and honors they received in their classes. Thus a way is opened for inducting the graduates of this law school into the New York branch of that profession.

In such memory groups as veterans of wars, their relatives and descendants — Grand Army of the Republic, Daughters of the American Revolution, Spanish War Veterans Association, and the more youthful American Legion — a shared experience which

time surrounds with memories of fidelity, courage, and devotion comes to be a sufficient reason for maintaining associational life. Here again the primary principle of organization permits of growing functions — memory groups, the bases of which lie in a past war, are very likely to take a lively interest in present and future wars; they sustain a high level of patriotic emotion and in times of crisis are often sufficiently powerful to dominate the issue.

Fraternal and Service Societies

Fraternal groups are not particularly characteristic of urban life although their largest memberships are in the cities. Since in these groups the elemental drive toward gregarious expression within a circle of like-minded persons is probably the chief motivation, small towns and villages often maintain lodges and secret societies in greater numbers than their populations justify. Thus a village in New Jersey with less than 1800 population includes seventeen lodges or secret societies. New York State, with a population of more than 11,000,000, reports 94,958 members of the fraternal order of Elks, while New Jersey with approximately 3,500,000 inhabitants has 51,379 members. Likewise, Massachusetts, with a population of slightly more than 4,000,000, has 120,119 members of the Masonic Order, and New York, 320,985. If these societies were distributed proportionately to population, New York State would have nearly 200,000 Elks and at least 100,000 more Masons. Urban opportunities for sociable gatherings other than those formally organized probably provide the reason for these disparities. After this fact is taken into account, however, it still remains true that fraternal orders represent one of the typical groups to be found in urban centers. Wherever they are found, a new force in the total community life is presented. The elemental aspects of fraternal organization — such as uniforms, parades, badges, etc. — may provide the clue for original motivations, but the secret society in a complex urban environment evolves into something quite apart from all this.[14]

It expresses many altruistic and benevolent purposes and in many cases assumes to control opinions on political, religious, moral, and social questions.

During recent years a new type of urban organization has come into existence among members of business and professional classes which presumes to run counter to the theory of like-mindedness — Rotary, Kiwanis Clubs, Lions, Civitas, etc. The method of selection is wholly arbitrary: one or more representatives of a particular line of business or of a manufacturing or professional interest constitute the rotating principle of membership. Thus an organization of Rotary might include two doctors, two lawyers, two hardware dealers, two teachers, etc. The basis of membership is occupational rather than social, and aims to bring together people of different social status. In attempting to evaluate these clubs, however, it should be kept in mind that the differences which derive from varying occupations may be superficial; in any case, it seems clear that the differences used as a basis of selection are not functional. Organizations of this type may be accounted for on various grounds, but it is probably correct to say that the two basic motivations are the desire for informal, playful sociability among business and professional men fused with a somewhat vague wish to do good to each other and to the community at large.

Political Associations

In addition to the above groups found in urban centers are the various forms of association growing out of political interests. These are not functional groups in a strict sense since the unifying principle is not the protection of a common interest but rather the perpetuation of a political theory or idea. Most prominent among them, because of its size, its long tradition, and its influence, is Tammany Hall in New York City. This is not a neighborhood or proximity group, although many of its activities once followed neighborhood lines and no doubt some of its adherents are drawn in by the sheer accident of nearness. On

the other hand, Tammany Hall transverses many other groups, including the older neighborhoods of New York City which are fast disappearing. Among its functions is that of dispensing charity, and many of its critics include this as one of its hypocrisies or " vote-catchers ". It must be admitted that any political organization which remains intact over a long period of time does so by reason of its successes in the political arena; with such success comes an interest-motive, namely, the use of the organization by political office-holders. In the end, most political clubs become interest groups in this sense and this is undoubtedly true of Tammany Hall. Political groups of various sorts ranging from Republican Clubs to communistic and anarchistic locals exist in most cities of any size and the loyalty given to such groups often exceeds that accorded any other.

Urban Woman Groups

No account of the group-life of American cities would be complete without inclusion of the various and multitudinous organizations for women: literary, political, and social clubs. It is probably true that American communities are more directly influenced by the collective action of women than are the cities of any other nation. Like fraternal orders, these organizations also flourish in small cities, towns, and villages, and of late years in rural territories, but it is in the larger cities that they rise to greatest numbers and influence. It is probably not too much to claim that very often, especially in the smaller cities, the only intellectual ferment, however low in order or ostentatious in form, is that emanating from these clubs. Except in the large cities where the intelligentsia is dominated by males, the guardianship of things intellectual is with the women. While the American businessman is engrossed in material affairs, his wife very often spends a considerable portion of her leisure, and much of his money, reading books, preparing papers and addresses, and participating in public discussions. The man becomes the matter-

of-fact unimaginative member of the household. He plods along with the conservative group maintaining the status quo, while his wife or daughter contributes time and money to groups equally intent upon changing the social order.[15] The actual value of such feminine activity is, of course, indeterminable.

Atypical Groups

On the margins of the regularly organized groups lie a vast number of less conventional organizations composed of artists, bohemians, faddists, and intellectuals. It is patent that such groups can exist as groups only in cities since they would find both their ideas and their modes of life uncongenial to the atmosphere of smaller communities. They may be considered atypical, and although of great significance in explaining one aspect of urban society, they tend to remain exclusive and hence limited in influence. However, a city without such groups, particularly without a recognized intellectual class, lacks vitality. In their way these groups are atypical in precisely the opposite sense to that in which the socially élite, the so-called " four hundred ", are; they represent a challenging mode of life and an idea system which cannot by reason of its departure from the middle-class norm become the rule for more than a very few urban inhabitants. When, however, an intellectual group, no matter how small, finds a proper medium of expression it often becomes the nucleus for a vigorous artistic or social movement.

The city " gang ", also one of the atypical groups, may be regarded as a manifestation of group-pathology.[16] Here collective action proceeds, certainly, upon an interest basis, but the interest involved is anti-social, or becomes anti-social in the face of opposition. Again it must be noted that " gangs " which prey upon their victims and violate laws indiscriminately give added proof of the compulsion of the city toward group action. Even criminals find a distinct advantage in leaving individualism behind when they set forth to ply their trade. This has become more obvious since

the passage of the law prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. In order to violate this law successfully and profitably a long chain of accomplices reaching from the bootlegger himself to truck drivers, "moonshiners", sailors and occasionally to the presumable enforcers of the laws, office-holders and the police, must be constructed. An individual attempting to violate this law would be helpless. Likewise, robbery on a large scale, which has apparently reached the level of professional skill, is far more successful when carried out by a division of labor within a closely knit group. Our vernacular has recently been enlarged to include the term "fence" which indicates the brokers who belong to the criminal "gang" whose business it is to dispose of stolen goods. Some reformers believe that it is more important to apprehend and eliminate the "fences" than it is to attempt to detect the robbers themselves.

Classification of Groups

The above is obviously a partial presentation of the order of group life in modern urban communities, but even in this abbreviated picture we see a vast congeries of groups which through their various functions constitute the very life of urban process. Unhappily not many revealing sociological studies have been made of these groups save from the structural point of view and future urban sociologists will find here a rich field for research.[17] Preliminary to such studies, it may be appropriate to propose several principles of urban group life, derived from observation, together with a suggestion for a classification:

Types of Urban Groups:

1. Functional groups, organized primarily on behalf of a specific and objective interest: trade unions, manufacturers' associations, chambers of commerce, etc. (Conflict groups.)
2. Occupational groups, organized on behalf of a professional interest, but less concerned with directly objective issues: medical societies, engineering societies, etc.

3. Philanthropic and reform groups: organized to protect the unfortunate members of society, or to propagate such constitutional changes as will improve society.
4. Religious groups: held together by virtue of a common subjective goal or interest.
5. Nationality groups: clusters of immigrants who fall into natural groups because of language, culture, etc.
6. Memory groups: organized for the purpose of projecting a past experience (pleasant or unpleasant at the time but somehow since risen to importance) into the present and future: war veteran societies, alumni associations, etc.
7. Symbolic groups: formed about a set of symbolisms or rituals which often are valued in direct proportion to their inappropriateness to the present environment: lodges, fraternal societies, secret societies.
8. Service-recreational groups: informally organized about the wish for playful adult activity coupled with a sense of doing good: Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, etc.
9. Political groups: clubs or societies which are often, at least in part, memory groups, but which exist for the purpose of perpetuating a set of political principles: Tammany Hall, Jefferson Clubs, Lincoln Clubs, etc.
10. Feminist groups: women organized in the interest of cultural, educational, civic purposes: women's clubs, leagues for women voters, etc.
11. Atypical groups: groups which exist in all cities, and lend color to the urban scene, but which must be regarded as departures from the norm; on the positive side, bohemians, intellectuals, esthetic groups, etc.; and on the negative side, "gangs", or groups organized for effective law violation.

Behind this attempt at classification is the assumption, made from observable data, that if the materials available on these and other groups were studied they would throw no little light upon our understanding of urban society. We know very little, for instance, of what might be designated as the anonymous groups of the city. They are not formal groups in the sense in which groups have been described in this chapter, and yet they constitute aggregates that tend to function in terms of particular interests. In Los Angeles

it has become the custom for visitors to gather during certain times of the day in a park. People from the different states meet other people from the same states. Certain spots become generally known as the places where people from those regions come to while away time. The place and purpose of meeting are apparent, but the groups themselves are without organization. A similar instance is a curb real-estate market in Brooklyn near Borough Hall. Hundreds of men meet here during the afternoon, coming to buy or sell real estate, or just to be around where real estate is discussed. There is no organization, just a meeting place and a purpose. This anonymous group is often mixed with the pedestrians on the sidewalk. In most large cities are to be found small parks and squares to which the intelligentsia resort in anonymous contiguity. A semblance of organization is noted in the shops and activities that hover near — tea rooms, forums, and studios of the "Latin Quarter". It is a meeting place for the restless, the promenaders and curious idlers. Soap-box speakers and evangelists come occasionally to harangue or "educate" passersby. Fakers and medicine men clamour for their attention, but the crowd remains unintegrated.

Generalizations on Groups

Sociological efforts to define urban society, and particularly to identify it with the multifarious groups into which it seems to be dividing, have only begun. Further search should reveal certain trends of development, knowledge of which might be usefully applied to the observation of given groups. Existing facts concerning this group life of urban communities do not as yet warrant the formulation of rigid principles, but we may at least hazard a few generalizations which should be tested:

1. Collective action supplants individual action wherever competition is intense.
2. All urban groups are in one sense or another interest-groups; the primary or initial motivation may arise from the level of non-

pecuniary interest, but sooner or later every persistent group comes to protect a definite set of interests common to all members of the group.

3. When the initial or primary motivation for group organization is altruistic or subjective it is frequently difficult to discover the forces of continued cohesion; in many cases, and particularly where pecuniary interests seem removed, the explanation of group conduct is to be sought in habit-patterns.
4. Groups tend to persist even though they achieve and consummate their original objectives. The will to live and to hold prestige often leads a group to seek new objectives.

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Primary groups are face-to-face, acquaintance, or established-relation groups, such as the family, and the simple neighborhood. Secondary groups are derived from some common interest or function; they may be called derivative or functional groups. Which of these two types of groups tend to predominate in urban society?

2. What are the distinctions in principle or cohesion between primary and secondary groups?

3. As interest-groups tend to multiply, it is often affirmed that the interest of the larger public will be sacrificed. In this connection the student should familiarize himself with the theories of the following books: *Public Opinion*, and *The Phantom Public*, by Walter Lippman, and *The Public and Its Problems*, by John Dewey. In the latter volume, Dewey writes: "But a community as a *whole* involves not merely a variety of associative ties which hold persons together in diverse ways, but an organization of all elements by an integrated principle." (p. 38) Discuss this statement with a view of discovering the "integrated principle" in any given modern community.

4. Study a number of representative individuals from the point of view of the number of groups each is affiliated with; after each group, state the interest or interests which this group represents.

5. It frequently happens that a group organizes on behalf of a single interest, economic, religious, etc., but later in its development performs activities on behalf of other interests. This process may be called the rule of expanding interests. Study several groups in which this has happened, and attempt to account for the procedure.

6. Recently psycho-pathologists have asserted that many persons join groups for the purpose of compensating for some deficiency in their

own lives. This is probably said most frequently of reform groups. List a number of such organizations, and discuss the possible compensatory value which each offers.

7. Study a reform group which has apparently outlived its direct influence or usefulness, but still continues in existence.

8. By what devices and activities are memory-groups maintained?

9. Discuss and criticize the statement that for every distinct urban type, a type-group sooner or later emerges.

10. Study the methods of groups which have come into existence for the purpose of combatting other groups.

11. In New York are published several hundred periodicals, the organs of special groups. What are the functions of such periodicals?

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. *Applied Sociology*, Lester Ward, pp. 45–46 (Boston, 1906).
2. *General Sociology*, A. W. Small, p. 425 (Chicago, 1905).
3. *Folkways*, William G. Sumner, (New York, 1907).
4. *The Polish Peasant*, W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, (New York, 1927, Knopf).
5. *The Elements of Social Science*, R. M. McIver, (London, 1921).
6. *The Guild Merchant*, Charles Gross (London, 1890).
7. *Political Parties*, Robert Michels (London, 1915).
8. "Is Suburban Living a Delusion?", Christine Frederick, *Outlook*, February 22, 1928, pp. 290–291.
9. "Stimulation Ranges and Reaction Areas," F. H. Giddings, *Psychological Review*, XXXI (1924): 452–455.
10. *Old World Traits Transplanted*, R. E. Park and H. A. Miller, (New York, 1921).
11. *Immigration*, H. P. Fairchild, 2nd ed. (New York, 1924). *Modern Immigration*, Annie M. McLean (Philadelphia, 1925). *On New Shores*, Conrad Bercovici, (New York, 1925).
12. *Social Mobility*, Pitirim Sorokin, table, p. 451, (New York, 1927).
13. *God Got One Vote*, novel by F. H. Brennan, (New York, 1927). Deals with rise of political boss in foreign area.
14. "Insignia and Regalia," Katherine F. Gerould, *Harpers Magazine*, Nov. 1923. Also see chapter on "Sweet Land of Secrecy," *The Great American Bandwagon*, Charles Merz (New York, 1928).
15. "A Clubless Women's World," Ida C. Clarke, *Century*, Oct., 1927.
16. *The Gang*, Frederick Thrasher, (Chicago, 1926).
17. *Social Mobility*, (see above) first two chapters.

PART IV

SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE IMPACT OF THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

XV. The Social Pathologies of the City
XVI. Urbanizing the Home
XVII. Aspects of Social Control
XVIII. Fact-Finding and City-Planning
XIX. Rural-Urban Conflicts and Integrations

XV

INTRODUCTION

The sequence of this volume, from structures to functions and from functions to end-results, will now be completed by a consideration of certain malformations in urban life, and certain adaptations and controls designed to make such life conformable to changing ideals of progress. In other words, we now have before us the task of scrutinizing various aspects of urban process from the point of view of social change. The urban environment, plus its end-products, constitutes a new and driving force in modern civilization. Some believe this urban-complex to be somehow uncontrollable; they insist that the emergence of the vast conglomerations of human beings spells the last phase of western culture. Others see in city-growth a great promise for the future.

Admittedly, the city reveals significant forms of pathology. A vast and growing amount of research is being directed at these very problems. The question which rises foremost, and is therefore treated selectively, in this area of social pathology, is that regarding the future of the family. Next in importance is the problem of control. In what manner and by what forces are these great urban centers being governed and directed? The next question is that of the relation between these growing urban entities and the relatively decreasing rural populations. Here we have an age-old conflict which rises once more for critical consideration, namely, the ancient struggle between city and country. The final four chapters, constituting Part IV, are devoted to this central problem of social change and control.

THE SOCIAL PATHOLOGIES OF THE CITY

Social Change

Whenever the culture patterns by which a society lives change, social problems descend upon it. It has been found that when civilized man with his science has invaded the realms of primitive societies to take to those people his knowledge of such things as health and sanitation he has been as much of a disturber as a blessing. Sometimes the health standards of a people cannot be changed without changing some of the fundamentals of their religion. Change the food of a people, or change their tools, and their method of gaining a livelihood has been tampered with. Again, this only operates to disturb other relationships and before equilibrium can be attained the population must worry through a period of chaos and social pathology.

In his stimulating volume, *Social Change,* Ogburn comes to the pertinent conclusion that we have progressed at such a rapid rate during the last few hundred years or more that our culture has outstripped our biological development as much as our mechanical achievements have outstripped the rate of change in our social organization. Culturally, according to Ogburn, man has set a pace for working and living which biologically his body will not tolerate, taking its revenge in crime, disease, and insanity. Culturally man has hedged himself about with a highly synthesized and high-powered environment to which he has not been able to adapt himself biologically.

The phenomenon of man's difficulty in living in the world made by his own inventive genius, Ogburn has called " cultural lag," meaning thereby the difference in the rates of progress in the various aspects of man's life.[1] What he explains in terms

of different rates of change, other sociologists would describe in terms of organization and disorganization and relate the two processes to mobility. Sinclair Lewis' quarrel with "Main Street" is that nothing happens there; but that is the nature of uneventful rural life, just as the maladjustment with which he deals in *Babbitt* and *Arrowsmith* are inherent in the nature of the eventful urban life. That they are what the different environmental situations make them should not surprise us, but to blame country people for moving slowly and city people for moving fast is both bad science and poor art. Movement and change, the breaking up of old associations and forming new ones, are characteristic of city life. In the rural setting, life repeats itself continuously much as children live over and over again through vicariously participating in fairy tales. In the urban setting, the time-worn Biblical expression, "There is nothing new under the sun," has little meaning. Every day finds the details re-arranged like the make-up of the morning paper. At every contact, new experience is encountered and must be incorporated by the person or the group. If the new experience cannot be harmoniously integrated into the established behavior patterns, a temporary state of chaos, which we term maladjustment or social disorganization, results, succinctly described by Park as follows:

> We are living in such a period of individualization and social disorganization. Everything is in a state of agitation — everything seems to be undergoing a change. Society is, apparently, not much more than a congeries and constellation of social atoms. Habits can be formed only in a relatively stable environment, even if that stability consists merely — as, in fact, it invariably does, since there is nothing in the universe that is absolutely static — in a relatively constant form of change. Any form of change that brings any measurable alteration in the routine of social life tends to break up habits; and in breaking up the habits upon which the existing social organization rests, destroys that organization itself. Every new device that affects social life and the social routine is to that extent a disorganizing influence. Every new discovery, every new invention, every new idea is disturbing. Even news has become at times so dangerous that governments have felt it wise to suppress its publication.[2]

Social Problems

In human society continuous social change is disturbing only to the degree that it breaks up social habits faster than they can be formed, or to the degree that it breaks down the equilibrium between man and his environment. The social pattern in every detail tends to endure but the demands of the environment do change. Population increases continue and so the demand continues for new spatial adjustments. The food supply changes both in nature and quantity, which calls for more adjustment. Man invents tools, weapons, and machines, which in turn change his habits and disturb his religion, his social philosophy, his social organization. Strangers invade a community, specialization sets in, competition takes one form, then another. All these things and many more are among the facts of life that call on the individual to change his way of living and call on the group to change its customs and traditions. None of these changes comes without pain and struggle. In the human community the nature of social life changes every time the composition of the population and the nature of their struggles for a livelihood change. The "400" of our early industrial city has vanished, and so have the social habits that accompanied it. In its place have come many small and intimate groups that gather by themselves in terms of special interest. The same currents of life, or others, which broke up the "400," tend to disorganize other social relations, one after another, as soon as they have outlived their usefulness.

Until the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, social philosophers seldom noted social problems and the pathologies of human society were unknown, at least in the sense in which they are known and studied today. Not until cities and abnormal urban mobility gave rise to such acute and challenging social problems were the scholars forced to turn their attention from their generalizations about society to particulars. The swing from social philosophy to social science really took the sociologists from their armchairs and cloisters into the field in a panicky search for

panaceas and solutions. The later trend has been in the direction of research, and gradually a considerable body of materials of scientific value is being collected. From this venture of sociology grew the various branches of social pathology, and from the social sciences in general have sprung the numerous schools of social work.

Poverty and Social Pathology

Although social pathology is outside the field of general urban sociology, the provinces of the two branches overlap sufficiently so that the student of either needs, for his own orientation, to make a cursory examination of the other. Unless the student of urban life gives some thought to social disorganization and the problems resulting from it, his picture of urban society is incomplete. Having made this limited invasion of the field of social pathology, he leaves it in the hands of the technicians and applied sociologists.

Some pathologists divide their science into the pathology of the (1) person, (2) group, and (3) community. The third may relate to some population problem or to some abnormal functioning of the neighborhood. Most problems affect the individual or person; so much, in fact, is personal that in treatment the approach is to the individual. In terms of sociology the person is diagnosed with reference to his social setting, that is, his entire environment, social and physical. Scientific technique applied to the problems of social maladjustment has turned attention to particular as well as to general, to remote as well as to immediate, to complex as well as to simple causes. This is almost a reversal of most previous approaches in which problems of society fell into three relatively distinct classes, all dealing with the person: the poor, the afflicted, and the criminal. Again they were all divided, a habit that still clings with us, into the worthy and unworthy. The causes of social maladjustment were conceived in simple terms, as were the forms of treatment. The poor were to be assisted with alms, the afflicted pitied and helped, and the criminal

were to be punished. The large number of the poor was not to be regretted since almsgiving was one of the means of earning life eternal. The idea still clings to charity.

The place which poverty holds in the literature of philanthropy is significant. In fact, little space is left for the other social problems, partly because "the poor" is a blanket term that includes most forms of social ill. Private charity in New York City (1925 estimate) has an annual budget of $60,000,000. In Chicago the private and public charity budgets (1924 estimate) total $50,000,000 and in 1924 Chicago had a budget for welfare work of all kinds. Thus it goes down the line of institutional charity, unorganized charity, and individual charity until the total sum expended in philanthropy mounts to what J. H. S. Bossard estimates at two billion dollars, or one-thirtieth of our annual income.[3] This is industrial society's supplementary wage to the fifteen per cent of our population living below the poverty line.

The causes of poverty are classified by Dexter under five headings according to the factors contributing to it:[4]

1. Factors of the physical environment; plant and animal life of parasitic nature, volcanoes, floods, weather changes, topography, soil, etc. These are things over which man has little or no control.
2. The biological factors, including illness, acquired or inherited weaknesses, and over-population.
3. The economic factors, including faulty production, distribution, and consumption of goods; also unemployment, immigration, and congestion.
4. Political factors such as unjust taxation, governmental inefficiency, war, inadequate public relief.
5. Societal-psychological factors, including non-social orientation in economic life, inability to use one's resources, habits such as drink or drugs. Purely social causes would include large families, widowhood, desertion, illegitimacy.

The Poverty Line

None of these can be wholly disintegrated or isolated as a separate cause in any specific case. Every problem is the resultant

of a complex of causes, each of which has to be traced out separately. In any specific case, too, poverty may be both cause and effect. In London in the 'eighties, Booth found thirty and seven-tenths per cent of the people in poverty,[5] but poverty was not there described as a state of possessing resources insufficient to maintain a standard of living consistent with what would be normally considered necessary for one's social and economic well-being. Later students have seen the necessity of being more specific and we have such distinctions of standards as: (1) "*The Poverty Level,*" which merely keeps soul and body together; (2) "*The Minimum-of-subsistence Level,*" which cares for man's physical, but not his social, needs; (3) "*The Subsistence-plus or Minimum of Health and Decency Level,*" which gives sufficient of the material goods so that the individual is able to maintain his self-respect with a slight surplus for education and recreation; and, (4) "*The Comfort Level,*" giving the ordinary necessities. These budgets spread from a minimum of $1,000 in the first to a minimum of $2,000 in the fourth.[6]

The National Industrial Conference Board worked out on the comfort basis one budget for office workers and another for industrial workers in New York. For 1926 an income sufficient to maintain a fair standard of living for the former was $2,119.11, and for the latter, $1,880.17.[7] When in this manner we recognize social and economic classes, identifying each with its own standard of living, we eliminate all possibility of even guessing at the number in poverty. Certainly all families who live beyond their means, for instance, those who in order to live in an exclusive neighborhood spend from one-third to one-half of their income for rent, are submitting to one form of poverty. So much dire and absolute poverty probably does not exist in modern cities as did in those of the past.

Present-day poverty is accentuated by the industrial capitalistic civilization in which people are segregated spatially. The poor are relegated to the areas of least advantage and lowest rents, thereby suffering in exaggerated form the unwholesome

features of poverty, and at the other extreme are the rich. In the neighborhood, people of different economic status shared some intimate relationships, but in the impersonal organization of industrial society, they are strangers — the "classes" on one side and the "masses" on the other. This remote relationship between the wealthy and the poor is reflected in an infinite number of contrasts in the life of the urban community. Out of it grows the idealism of most social and philanthropic programs for the solution of the problems of society and also much of the conflict characterizing modern life.[8] Extreme views such as those shared by the followers of Karl Marx or Henry George would ascribe all social problems to the maldistribution of wealth. The social scientist finds that the maladjustments of society are too involved to be explicable by any single hypothesis.

Health and Disease

Far from marking the beginning and end of social pathology, poverty, as well as constituting the major difficulty, figures concomitantly in a great many social problems which start as physical handicaps or illness. H. A. Moore cites a study made by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company (1915–1917)[9] which shows that of 571,757 white persons examined in seven states, about two per cent were ill enough every day to be absent from work. According to other estimates, the average worker loses eight days each year from his job. This does not include those permanently sick or handicapped.

The two diseases most significant socially are consumption and venereal disease — both urban phenomena or at least exaggerated by city life. Tuberculosis haunts the homes of the poor where crowding, lack of sanitation, fatigue, and undernourishment reduce resistance. Venereal disease is nursed and disseminated in the anonymous urban life. Both diseases are the more serious in treatment because of the secrecy which surrounds them. The extent of venereal disease is problematic, but it is

known that the death-rate from tuberculosis is about 100 per 100,000. Until recently, due to a puritanical refusal to recognize the disease, there was little organization for venereal treatment, whereas the drive against tuberculosis has succeeded in twenty years in cutting the death-rate from tuberculosis in half, from 188.5 deaths per hundred thousand in 1903 to 93.6 deaths in 1923. In large cities the decline in the tuberculosis death-rate is even greater. In New York City it was 398 in 1881, 280 in 1900 and had dropped to 103 in 1921.

Also important sociologically are the physical and mental strains and the industrial diseases which beset the worker in many occupations. Every job in modern industry develops physical diseases and its own peculiar psychoses. The specialized job lays heavy strain on some particular part of the body, often to the extent of destroying that part. One worker's job may tax his eyesight. His efficiency depends upon his eyesight and yet the longer he works at the job the more certain he is that ultimately his eyesight will be destroyed. Quartz dust in the DeLemar, Nevada, stamp mills was so damaging to the lungs that after a month, workers were permanently handicapped. Wages were high and men were willing to take chances. It was cheaper for the mining companies to pay the high wages than to go to the expense of reconstructing the mill so that the ore might be obtained by some other process. Miners say that no metal mine exists in which a man can work continuously without having his health undermined by some disease arising from lead, copper, or some dust. Since most states now require safety appliances, this is becoming less of a problem although still serious enough in the industries.

Sickness is but one of the trials of industry. In addition, half a million or more people have been permanently crippled or incapacitated by strains and accidents.[10] Some of these social ills are primarily economic, and doubtless can be traced in part to the nature of the organization of the industrial system. Others are not so easily traceable; for example, how did 45,000 people

become deaf and 52,500 blind in the United States in 1920? Upon closer examination, we find growing out of the aggregate of these maladjustments other problems essentially social and psychological. The whole matter becomes so involved that to point to single causes, especially economic, proves both meaningless and futile.

Old Age

Physical handicaps include old age, although in some respects it seems to be a category apart. Old age as a social problem typifies the peculiar relation of modern industrial society to the social problems which arise in and seem to be exaggerated by the city, that is, the manner in which it is dealt with illustrates the values in terms of which urban life is lived. Here one earns the right to live by being able to function in the economic processes. In the pastoral and agricultural economies, there was a place for the old, as there is always a position for them in a society in which the family is unified in the home. In other words, the aged functioned in the domestic economy, but the city has taken from the home all but the most fragmentary elements of the domestic economy so that the economic functioning of the members of the family must be on the labor market. The tragedy of modern society is that it is not organized to utilize the aged productively. There is a striking parallel between the treatment of the aged under modern civilization and in certain forms of savagery, under which for economic reasons, the helpless old were ceremoniously pushed off the cliff or otherwise disposed of. Urban society, which is the acme of civilization, sets them aside, but without ceremony or sentiment. The first was a conscious elimination in order that the tribe might survive, but in modern society the treatment of the aged is one of the resultants of the unforeseen nature of our industrial order, as Professor North says in his recent book, *Social Differentiation:*

> The individualism that has become rife in the Western World has broken down the familyism of the ancient state. The family is no longer

the center about which all the interests of life revolve. The individual has become the unit for more of the activities of modern society than is the family. Reverence for the old was a phase of society that placed strong emphasis upon family life. And the change cannot help but carry with it a loss of reverence and authority for the old. The cult of progress works in the same direction. Whether the old are conservative from physical necessity or from neglecting to keep up, they are as a group more attached to the past than are the middle-aged. A society that has shaped its ideals about progress can never place its affairs in the hands of the old and give them the reverence that a society does that lives in the past. Those must be revered and placed in power who are capable of doing what society wants done. The decline of ancestor worship, the competition of modern economic life, democratic government, individualism and the cult of progress, have thus all conspired to reduce to a marked degree the functions and rank possessed by the aged in earlier society. Gray hairs instead of being an asset have become a liability. The greater part of carrying on the present work of society has fallen into the hands of men from twenty-one to fifty years of age, and the rank has become adjusted to the actual power exercised.[11]

Society is tardy in meeting the problem of what to do with the old when they can no longer function in the productive arrangement, when they cease to be of worth in the value terms of modern industrial society. It has robbed them of their function without giving them other rôles. What North calls the cult of progress is essentially a passion for change which is itself problem-creating, leaving the maladjusted in its wake. As Ogburn points out, no corresponding modification has taken place in the physical environment or in the biological nature of man himself. The problems of social adjustment arising out of the rapidity of change are of two sorts:

The one concerns the adaptation of man to culture, or perhaps preferably the adaptation of culture to man. The other problem is the question of adjustments, occasioned as a result of these rapid social changes, between the different parts of culture, which no doubt means ultimately the adaptation of culture to man. . . .

The thesis is that the various parts of modern culture are not changing at the same rate, some parts are changing much more rapidly than

others; and that since there is a correlation and interdependence of parts, a rapid change in one part of our culture requires readjustments through other changes in the various correlated parts of culture.[12]

The above is no better illustrated than with reference to the aged. On the one hand, through modern medicine, the reduction of accidents, etc., the expectation of life has been increased. On the other hand, the exacting demands of the labor market make it increasingly difficult for the aged, even for those over 45, according to the labor agencies, to secure employment. What science has done is shown by the United States Census reports giving the percentage of the total population over 65: 1880, 3.5%; 1890, 3.9%; 1900, 4.2%; 1910, 4.3% and 1920, 4.7%.[13] The ancient remedy — the almshouse and the old people's home — is far from satisfactory and probably one of the best supports of Ogburn's thesis of cultural lag. State insurance, industrial and old age pensions are indicated as the methods to re-create a balance.[14]

Mental Defectives

The test of capacity to function in a changing culture is psychological as well as physiological. The mentally defective include two classes: the feeble-minded are those of arrested mental development — idiots, psychologically under the age of three years; imbeciles, from three to eight years old mentally; and morons who test mentally from eight to twelve years old. The other group includes the mentally diseased or insane. Presumably the insane person is one who has a mind but has lost his psychic orientation. Still another type of psychic maladjustment is the psychopathic personality, the person who because of some eccentricity or personality complex fails to function normally in society. Although behavior traits handicap him, he is not to be classified with the mentally defective. It is generally conceded that the large city, with the strains and pressures of competition, tends to exaggerate psychic abnormalities. Beyond that, little information of sociological value is available.

Delinquents

When left to his own resources in a competitive society, the psychically maladjusted person is very likely either to become dependent or delinquent or both, thereby being socially maladjusted as well. In dependency, he becomes an object of charity; in crime, a subject for correction. In its social aspects, social pathology really relates to the taboos of society, involving the anti-social person, such as the criminal, and the non-social person, such as the tramp or beggar. The former is one who willfully or unwittingly violates the moral code of the community. As the code changes from time to time or place to place, the definition of crime will be modified. Breaking with social sanction has always been considered a crime but with the growth of large cities breaks with the code became more frequent and flagrant, which means that, comparing city and country, more crimes are committed in the former. The individual in the city is less under the domination of the group. Then, too, we hear no little to the effect that crime is the product of the economic conditions in the city. Sutherland writes:

> Poverty in the modern city generally means segregation in low-rent sections, where people are isolated from many of the cultural influences and forced into contact with many of the degrading influences. Poverty generally means low status, with little to lose, little to respect, little to be proud of, little to sustain efforts to improve. It generally means bad housing conditions, lack of sanitation in the vicinity, and lack of attractive community institutions. It generally means both parents away from home for long hours, with the fatigue, lack of control of children, and irritation that go with these. It generally means withdrawal of the child from school at an early age and the beginning of mechanical labor, with weakening of the home control, the development of anti-social grudges, and lack of cultural contacts. Poverty, together with the display of wealth in shop windows, streets, and picture shows, generally means envy and hatred of the rich and the feeling of missing much in life, because of the lack of satisfaction of the fundamental wishes. Poverty seldom forces people to steal or become prostitutes in order to escape starvation. It produces its effect most

frequently on the attitudes, rather than on the organism. But it is surprising how many poor people are not made delinquents rather than how many are made delinquents.[15]

Statistics on crime prove to be of little value because of the manner in which they are gathered and compiled and because of the changing conceptions of what constitutes a crime. Laws and ordinances differ between cities and states, and law enforcement varies in laxity or strictness from time to time. With the change in our conceptions of crime has come modification of our attitudes toward the criminal and of our programs of treatment and punishment. When he was a person into whom an evil spirit had entered, punishment took the form of purging. Later punishment was measured out after the fashion of an " eye for an eye "; society was injured by a certain crime to a certain extent and so much punishment had to be meted out to fit the crime, or balance it. Sometimes it was for the good of the offender's soul, sometimes to avenge society, and again it was meant to be a warning deterrent to others. To Lombroso, and many still believe it, the offender was an abnormal or atavistic type, a " born criminal ". At present, however, the tendency is to think of the criminal as an individual, and crime as accidental or pathologically abnormal behavior, and to eliminate vindictiveness from punishment, searching for the treatment which will restore the culprit to society.

Delinquency and Gangs

In many respects, crime is a sociological phenomenon, frequently the outgrowth of cultural conflicts. This is true of much of the crime with which the gang is linked. According to Thrasher,[16] the gang is the product of the social disorganization of the chaotic areas between or at the fringe of stable neighborhoods. In our rapidly changing urban life, the generations do not move at the same rate. Age and youth are out of step. They do not see alike. They have different sets of values, different codes, and they often think with different imagery. The older generation has

little to give the young out of their experience because the environment calls for different behavior than when the parents were children. As never before the weight of tradition and custom, so long the favorite tools of parents for controlling children, are of little use.[17] The result is conflict that strikes at the very roots of the family and breeds in the children anti-social viewpoints.

Many of the taboos which the code would rate as crimes really have little to do with attacks on persons or property, but they illustrate how society presumes to control the private lives of its members. For example, it is unlawful in the United States at large to transport intoxicants, in Kansas, to smoke cigarettes, in New Jersey, to play anything but sacred music, to dance, or to ride horseback on Sunday. In New York, divorce is granted only on grounds of infidelity. In almost every state, to give information about birth control, regardless of its advisability (as in the case of parents giving birth to feeble-minded children), is against the law.[18] In other states it is unlawful to curse! Each and every one of these laws and many others which could be named, are reminiscent of primary group control of the conduct, and even of the thoughts, of the individual. They are not the product of urban sophistication and anonymity. Congealed in the statutes, city and country folks alike are expected to obey them. In the city they are challenged, sometimes openly, sometimes under cover, but generally with the knowledge of all. Some people believe that attempts to enforce such laws governing the private lives of individuals lead to a contempt for all law.

Homeless Individuals

Sometimes a pathological condition arises from the detachment of a person from organized groups, and in his consequent release from the privileges and responsibilities which accrue from such a relationship. The normal thing is for the individual to retain his attachment, but where there are exceptions we find that men more than women become detached, although the changing

status of women is leaving them more mobile. There are two forms of detachment of the person: he may venture abroad without losing contact with his home, and eventually return home; or he may either lose his home or become permanently detached from the start. These degrees of detachment would be the measure of the degree to which his conduct while away would be under the influence of the family behavior patterns. Viewed in relation to the labor market, the wanderer appears less pathological. The significant fact of industrialism is that it deals with individuals, not families. The money market serves as a parallel. To be healthy, it must have a constant circulation of gold as a sound basis upon which to shift as the strategy of finance requires. The money market deals with individual units, not families or clusters of gold dollars. If ten coins are wanted, they can be any ten of the proper weight. The labor market operates on an equally individualistic basis. Men are engaged, shifted here and there, and paid as individuals. As individuals, they use the facilities of the city. The family is a thing apart from the economic life to which its members respond. The individual may go from the farm to the city to work or, turning hobo, leave for the harvest fields. He may even become an emigrant and take up his abode in a strange land. The factors which bring about this migration of persons may be economic, but the movement itself has social significance, even social causes which sometimes cannot be unraveled from economic and other causes. Who can say how many social and how many economic factors are involved in the movement of 10,000 students, 10,000 hobos, 10,000 Negroes, of an equal number of Mexicans or Russian Jews in a single year into Chicago? They will temper the life of the city and doubtless create some situation essentially pathological.[19] For each individual entering Chicago, the move is a change of scene, a transition from one environment and set of habits to another where he will have to establish himself and form another set of habits. The change ought not to result in any maladjustment. Thousands, however, cannot invade a city without occasioning disorganization.

Urban Social Conflict

In its practical implications, mobility is a source of friction, particularly when representatives and groups of different cultures are thrown into juxtaposition, as they are so frequently in the great city. Social conflict takes at least three forms: (1) over purely economic matters, economic competition, labor disputes, price wars; (2) between ethnic groups due to differences of race, nationality, religion; and (3) over cultural change within the group, as the revolt of youth, which is incorrigibility in the face of traditional authority. Strip away the emotional content of any of these and only the naked competition so familiar to the biologist remains — the struggles of competing organisms for food and space.

Social conflicts arise in the face of some impending insecurity. The race problem is typical. Unlike groups of similar skin color can merge and eventually lose their identities, but for those set apart by skin color there is little chance for a fusion of blood which normally would result in some social stabilization unless some superiority-inferiority adjustment can be worked out such as the Chinese have accepted or that the Negro has partially accepted in the South, but to which the Japanese on the Pacific Coast refuse to submit. In the early days of the West, the Chinese were imported in large numbers to perform common tasks, but they went instead into lumbering, mining, agriculture, and fishing. Competing with the white people who resented their ambition, they were mobbed in some cities, driven out of others, and finally the door was closed to further immigration. The Chinese contented themselves then to go into a few specialties in which they did not have to compete with white men: hand-laundering, chop suey parlors, and to a limited degree, household service. They have taken up their abodes in the most undesirable sections of the American cities where there is no objection to their presence, and here they share space with all the outlawed traffics of the underworld.

The persecution the Chinese once bore is now descending upon the Japanese who arrived later on the scene. Whereas the Chinese have a very low birth-rate, the Japanese are more numerous and very prolific. In 1920 there were 61,639 Chinese in the United States, mostly men living in the large cities. The Japanese numbered 111,010. Unlike the Chinese, the Japanese are not willing to live in the worst houses in the slums. They have gone into business and truck-farming and are building homes in the better neighborhoods. Outside Seattle, for instance, they have converted large tracts of waste land into gardens and have all but monopolized the local vegetable trade. The prejudice against the Japanese is deep-seated, and along the Pacific Coast there is a well-defined policy against their ownership of land. The same attitude prevails elsewhere where communities have been invaded by strange people, as for example, in the Bohemian settlement in Virginia.

More widespread than the conflict between urban groups is the conflict between the individual and society. Some individuals in a changing society always find it inconvenient or impossible to follow conventions. They may be in step with all the mechanized processes of civilization and yet out of step with the *mores*. The recalcitrant fall into two classes: (1) those who openly challenge custom and perhaps try to change it, and (2) those who, without being defiant, ignore custom after the fashion of the non-voter. A surprising quantity of urban social ills are traceable to this single disturbing phenomenon — the mobility of the people.

Pathological Migration

Modern industry and the related elements of industrial society tend toward individualism and the dissolution of the family. Moving day comes twice a year in the American city. A large proportion of families move, even if only to another house in the same neighborhood. Neighborhood relations die and the community becomes an aggregate of non-home-owning families sharing anonymously, like guests in a transient hotel, the common ad-

vantages of the environment. The automobile and good roads have greatly facilitated the mobility of the family.[20] In the South and along the Pacific Coast, the automobile family is a serious problem. In some towns, they are not permitted to stop, in others, enough gasoline is given them to send them to the next town.

Many of these families are traveling about working at odd jobs — in the hop fields or orchards — as the hobo once went. Jobs do not last long and the family must move on. Moving becomes chronic. The Ford car is the home and the camp beside the open road becomes a regular way of life. A social agency in Oklahoma City reports that in their section the wagon tramp family has always moved north in summer and south in winter, making "O-K-C" a regular stopping place. Since Oklahoma was one of the last states to be invaded by land seekers, the covered wagon and pioneer traditions still linger. Many of these wandering families now migrate in automobiles, but they are no less detached, homeless, and poverty-stricken, carrying disease and committing petty lawless acts. Since prohibition came into force, many live entirely on income from the illicit sale of liquor. These families illustrate the same lack of social responsibility which manifests itself in the conduct of homeless individuals.

Self-sustaining individuals are the assets of the city; the pathological cases, according to their degree of dependence or delinquency are the liabilities. The social assets, as well as the social liabilities, are more than individuals. They are families and larger groups, or they may be areas teeming with people. The family may or may not be an asset. If poor, with many undernourished as well as illiterate children, and if so situated that the children fall into the ways of delinquency, the family may even be a liability. When dozens of families of this type congest areas — as the anti-social congregate at the crime corners, or the vice interests gather on the red-light streets, reinforced by each other — their united presence makes the area a liability. If it happens to be Chinatown with its paucity of women and children, or Hobohemia with fewer still, a pathological distribution of the population is added. This

process of congregating, and thereby establishing a social milieu or a culture center, only serves to exaggerate the abnormalities of either the maladjusted person or the group.

The Challenge

The social problems presented by the group pertain principally to the departures from the traditional forms and the behavior patterns decreed by custom. The modifications in culture, of which Ogburn speaks, are forcing changes in family organization and home life. The parts and functions of the home have been altered; the structure of the family is being tampered with. The family as a group does not behave as it used to, and has lost some of its significance in the lives of its members. Woman's place is changing both socially and economically. A different relationship exists between parents and children. We are being warned again and again statistically that marriages are being postponed or avoided, divorce is increasing and in the " best " families children are either not being produced or are produced only in limited numbers. Families no longer take pride in home and neighborhood. Many citizens will not even go to the polls on election day; and if they do their votes are not cast with any sense of civic responsibility, but go to the " party man ". What is to be the way out of all these difficulties which so obviously seem to be identified with the changing life of the large city?

Demand for a solution frequently implies that one definite answer is expected. As many answers might be made as there are conceptions of the nature of the difficulties. If attempted in the form of a solution, any answer to any problem will create other problems, as did prohibition, upon which a great proportion of social scientists and other persons seemed to be agreed. Where change is ever present, any attempted solution for any social problem can be merely tentative; every shift of the scenes altering the attendant circumstances calls for a re-definition of the problem and a new approach to a solution. The continuous process of

building the city anew involves a continuous displacement of old tools, machines, buildings, thoroughfares, as well as old methods and programs. These material foundations upon which human culture is based cannot be disturbed without affecting people — elevating them, wearing them down or leaving them by the way. Unlike the army, acting upon centuries of experience in organized warfare, the city is not organized to reclaim and re-utilize all this human discard. The modern city is no better organized to adapt the people to its changes than it is to suit its changes to any synthesized city plan. It is beginning to recognize the need for adaptation to organized, controlled development. On the other hand, social organization within is developing the technique of protecting, directing, and salvaging the human assets of the city much as other processes are organizing with reference to a fuller utilization of its material assets.

Types of Social Work

Without going into the details of social work or tracing its development, it is enough to note the three types: public, sectarian private, and non-sectarian private welfare work. Probably the first step taken by the state to meet social problems was to pass laws that people must not wander. They had to remain in their own village, and strangers were only tolerated or admitted on permit. In the English Statutes of the Laborers and the "Settlement Acts," we have ample evidence that most social problems were identified with mobility. Later the state tried by law to cope with such social phenomena as robbery and begging, even putting vagabonds to death. In the sixteenth century, an attempt was made in England to suppress begging by forbidding doles, and by the end of the next century the state had established work-houses and farms. The rôle of the state has been cumulative, widening its range of contact with the social problems that were formerly either ignored or in the charge of private agencies.

Originally the rôle of the state was one of ordering discipline or confinement. The state maintained the places to which dependent people were sent — the prisons, work-houses, poor houses, insane asylums, orphanages, etc. The second rôle of the state was to discipline, pursue, catch, confine, or hang. More recently, courts and police are being motivated by other than vindictive objectives, and emphasis is swinging from conviction to diagnosis, and from punishment to treatment. Social workers are taking the place of prosecuters in the courts.

The oldest approach to the understanding and treatment of social problems has been through the church. Where the state has had a program of law and order the church did a work of love. In contrast to the dutiful interest of the law in the *status quo* of the community, the interest of the church has been universal brotherhood. Long before the state, and even the church, established institutions for dependents and defectives the burden fell on the church. For centuries it met the problem by granting to the worthy poor begging permits, a practice that the state took up later. Begging permits are still largely in vogue, though most cities have substituted for them licences to peddle, and these are often ruses for mendicancy. In its present position the church is but one of the forces for coping with the social problems of the city, and the part it plays is through one or another of the following types of institutions:

1. The general church with its auxiliary institutions — asylums, homes, schools, and outdoor relief; the Roman Catholic church; the Hebrew organizations.
2. The local community church with its own list of poor families.
3. The church, generally of the Protestant denominations, in a community where the best families once worshipped and have been crowded out by the poor. Still supported by its former membership, the church does institutional, industrial, outdoor work, and some evangelizing.
4. The non-denominational slum service religious organization — Salvation Army, Volunteers of America, etc. Rising in the slum, they carry on various kinds of social and religious work there, maintain-

ing homes and institutions, and sometimes advancing into the better communities. They are evangelistic but not doctrinaire.

5. Missions of numerous kinds; some in family areas, others in the foreign areas, but the majority in the areas of vice, crime, and homeless men. Strictly evangelical, they are maintained by private door-to-door begging. Some give food and shelter. In good times, they are not numerous. They increase in hard times, but few last long.
6. Religious organizations rendering special services to special groups — McGregor Mission for the hobos in Detroit; the Y. M. C. A., helping strangers; the Y. W. C. A. In the same class are numerous other institutions and homes for boys, girls, old women and men, sailors, returned convicts, and numerous other groups.

The swing of the pendulum from sectarian to non-sectarian private social work has had a tendency to change the point of view of church agencies toward charity. Under the Christian philosophy, the gift of alms was for the benefit of one's own soul. Almsgiving, praying, and fasting were the keys to life eternal. Under the modern humanitarian point of view, to which the church seems to be yielding, charity becomes a social service, and in extreme cases, a form of business efficiency. Whatever may be the motives of private social welfare work, the churches begin to share them. Thus the next step is easier, that is, the adoption of the methods and techniques of the most efficient and practical agencies.

The Protestant Church is experiencing difficulty in its attempt to survive as a welfare agency. Burdened by the large number of denominations, it is further handicapped because so many of its service outposts in the marginal areas are abandoned churches which have been converted into evangelical institutions. Others have evolved into community centers.[21] On the one hand enthusiasm to support such home mission work seems to be waning. On the other hand, the approach of the church with a message of reform, supporting such measures as prohibition, and demanding repentance, is not welcome. However, the discontinuance of this method in some of the more successful institutional churches marks the beginning of the breakdown of denominationalism, a

serious handicap to social service. In some of the larger cities, this has gone so far as to bring the leaders of the different religious groups to round-table discussions where the common problems are being considered apart from the heat of partisan evangelism.

Organized Social Work

The torch of research and method in social welfare work is with the non-sectarian private agencies. In their hands, social work has swung from the sentimental to the scientific approach. From the generalized uncritical method, they are turning to case work, to the examination and treatment of individual cases, taking into account as far as possible all the factors contributing to the problem, and adjusting these in the light of experience and consistently with the situation involved. The dictates of efficiency in social work [22] are leading, as in other forms of human activity, to a division of labor, to an extended coöperation of agencies [23] which cuts across the ancient lines of religion, race, and other distinctions not consistent with the cosmopolitan nature of the large city.

In addition to the approaches cited, many other movements cope with the ills which beset the city. Labor organizations and others try by insurance to meet old age and unemployment. Coöperative movements are being started to own houses and land and to operate stores. Fraternal organizations build homes and hospitals. Other organizations launch educational programs or engage in propaganda for the definite purpose of solving some problem or warding off some impending difficulty. Still modern life remains deluged with problems. In concluding his volume, *Social Work in the Light of History*, Queen accepts all this optimistically:

> Just because of the complexity of modern civilization we are not likely to see the day when everyone will be completely and harmoniously adjusted in his social relations. As far ahead as we can see there will be people whose family relations will break down, people who do not

get on with their fellow workmen, people who misunderstand and are misunderstood by their neighbors, people who need to break with old associates and to form new friends, and others who too greatly subordinate the common welfare to the gain of themselves, their families or cliques. To help such folk find, revise, or restore their place in society is the distinctive task of the social worker.[24]

As Professor Queen would admit, the problems of the city are the task of many agencies, organizations and groups, not that of the social worker alone, but the latter more than any other utilizes these forces in the re-organization of a maladjusted person or a demoralized group. The task of the sociologist as such ends with the identification of these groups and persons, and the relating of them to the larger life of the metropolis, just as it is his task to relate the city to the larger urban life in which it functions.

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In Ogburn's *Social Change*, the theory is elaborated that many social problems exist because of "cultural lag," that is, because man's cultural adjustments always lag behind his adjustments on the technological level. Discuss this theory, citing illustrations.

2. By what means is a social problem identified? When is an individual or a group pathological? See C. M. Case, *Outlines of Introductory Sociology*, pp. 627–630; also Carl Kelsey, How Social Progress Causes Social Problems (*Pub. Univ. of Pa., Free Public Lecture Course*, 1914–1915).

3. Poverty is suggested as a primary cause in social maladjustment. Some students, such as Sorokin, maintain that it leaves a physiological impress upon its victims. "The upper classes are taller, have a greater weight, greater cranial capacity, greater handsomeness, and less serious and less numerous abnormalities and defects than the lower classes. This phenomenon is more or less permanent and universal." *Social Mobility*, p. 250. Discuss this assumption.

4. Social well-being is usually measured by the so-called "standard of living". This may also be called the "standard of consumption". Discuss the factors which enter into the standard of living. Discuss also the "laws of consumption," as enumerated in chap. II, *The Standard of Living*, N. H. Comish.

5. Discuss the differences between rural and urban standards of living. Do the motives for consumption differ between rural and urban people?

6. Trace the steps in the development of social pathology from the stage where most social ills were classed under such general categories as " the poor ", " the criminal ", and " the insane ", to the present where there are many categories.

7. Discuss the following statement in terms of the coincidence of urban poverty and delinquency: " The standard of living below which people must fall before they become dependent on charity and the standard of conduct below which they must descend before they are arrested, are so low that any social machinery which would tend to cast off normal people as either financial or moral failures is itself abnormal." *What is Professional Social Work*, by L. A. Halbert, p. 13.

8. The " slum " is considered to be an institution peculiar to large cities. Are there " rural slums " as well? What are the differences between urban and rural slums?

9. Classify the organizations and agencies which exist in a given city for the purpose of ameliorating or eliminating social maladjustments.

10. Adam Smith contended in his *Wealth of Nations* that labor should be as free to circulate as capital. We now have a high rate of labor mobility. What special social problems result from this movement of labor?

11. Following the late War, large numbers of Negroes migrated from the South to northern cities. In what sense did these migrations present new social problems to the cities of the North?

12. List the chief causes of maladjustment and specify those which are peculiarly important to urban communities.

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. *Social Change*, W. F. Ogburn, p. 141 (New York, 1922).
2. *The City*, R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, ch. on " Juvenile Delinquency," p. 107. Also see *The Unadjusted Girl*, a work by W. I. Thomas indicating the use of the case method (New York, 1924).
3. *Problems of Social Well-Being*, James H. S. Bossard, pp. 8–11 (New York, 1927).
4. *Social Adjustment*, Robert C. Dexter, ch. III (New York, 1927).
5. *Life and Labour of the People of London*, Charles Booth (London,

1891, republished in nine volumes in 1902). This is a pioneer social survey and still a useful book.

6. *Problems of Social Well-Being*, p. 59 (above). Also see *Getting and Spending at the Professional Standard of Living*, J. B. Peixotto, (New York, 1927).
7. *Cost of Living in New York City, 1926*, p. 127, by the National Industrial Conference Board.
8. For a succinct statement of the contrasts in social and economic life, as well as the effects of anonymity in the modern city, read "The Clash of Contending Forces in Great Cities," C. H. Sears, *Biblical World*, 48 (Oct. 1923): 224–231.
9. *Public Health in the United States*, H. A. Moore, p. 34 (New York, 1923).
10. For the present-day emphasis on poverty see *Poverty*, Robert Hunter, (New York, 1912); also the *Survey of All Cripples of Cleveland*, 1916; also the *U. S. Bulletin of Labor Statistics, No. 274*. For institutions and agencies of relief — their organization and methods, see *Poverty and Dependency*, J. L. Gillin (New York, 1926).
11. *Social Differentiation*, C. C. North, p. 83 (Chapel Hill, 1927).
12. *Social Change*, p. 201 (above).
13. *Facing Old Age*, A. Epstein (New York, 1922).
14. *Social Adjustment*, ch. X (above).
15. *Criminology*, E. H. Sutherland, p. 169 (Philadelphia, 1924).
16. *The Gang*, Frederick Thrasher, Chapter on "Gangland" (Chicago, 1927).
17. *Youth in Conflict*, Miriam Van Waters (New York, 1924).
18. *Missouri Crime Survey*, 1926, gives a general view of the involved nature of the crime problem. For critical view see *Crime: Its Cause and Cure*, Clarence Darrow (New York, 1922). For general views see any standard text book on criminology.
19. *Industrial Evolution*, Carl Bucher (New York, 1907).
20. "A New Race of Hobos Takes the Road," Nels Anderson, *New York Times Magazine*, April 11, 1926. Showing relation between mobility and changing methods of travel. Also see *Social Mobility*, Pitirim Sorokin, ch. VI, "Results of Mobility" (New York, 1927).
21. *The St. Louis Church Survey: A Religious Investigation with a Social Background*, H. Paul Douglass (New York, 1924). Also by the same author, *The Church in the Changing City*, the study of twenty-six "down-town" churches in thirteen cities (New York, 1927).

22. *What is Social Case Work?* Mary E. Richmond, pp. 98–99 (New York, 1922).
23. "Welfare Council Aims to Co-ordinate Charity," *New York Times*, June 6, 1926, xx:10.
24. *Social Work in the Light of History*, Stuart A. Queen, pp. 321–322 (New York, 1922).
25. *Community Problems*, Arthur E. Wood, ch. XIII, "The Role of Private Agencies" (New York, 1928).

XVI

URBANIZING THE HOME

The Family Pattern

From the anthropologists we learn that the family is the universal social unit, the unit out of which all other forms of social units have emerged. Whether it be matriarchal or patriarchal, polygamous, polyandrous, or monogamous, the family has always been the nucleus of culture in the history of civilization. Although in changing societies the form of marriage has changed in response to changed environmental situations yet the family has continued to function in its traditional rôle: that of conserving and transmitting the culture of the group as well as the more basic function of procreation. Whatever the societal pattern of a people, the family has held in that arrangement a key position. What the influences were that operated from time to time to modify the form of the family is not within the scope of this volume to discuss. Our interest lies with the urban family and the processes by which the urban family is being effected. A. A. Brill, noting that the urban family is not following the traditional lines, observes:

> In China the symbol for the family consists of lines standing for the walls of the house, the man, the woman, and in the center a bristling pig. That has more significance than at first appears. For the essence of the old-time family was growing, stirring life — many chickens, domestic animals, dogs, cats, chickens, pets. . . . We are creating an artificial situation and a class of people escaping reality. . . . New York is becoming a childless city. . . . But children are an absolutely necessary emotional outlet.[1]

Ogburn finds that the family is held together by seven bonds (perhaps there are more): " economic, religious, protective,

educational, recreational, social status, and affectional." [2] In modern life he finds that these functions or bonds are being less identified with the family and more with institutions outside the home. There are fewer reasons in the great city for maintaining the home and there is less dependence on family life. Outside the home are freedom and luxury to be enjoyed with which home and family cannot compete. Affection which does not find expression in the rearing of children is not likely to be a sufficient bond to withstand the vicissitudes of urban life. As a result, divorce is increasing. According to the United States Bureau of the Census, "ten divorces were granted for every fifty-six marriages" in 1926. "For the past five years ten divorces have been granted for every sixty marriages contracted."

The prospects seem to be that the more urbanized the family and the home become the more we may expect this divorce rate to increase. It resolves itself into a study of a changed institution so far as the home is involved, and a changed relationship so far as the family is concerned. They both, as recognized in the *mores* and law, have come from the quiet, uneventful atmosphere of small community life where they were both the strength of community life. For the continuity and stability that characterized both there has come a transiency and instability which is not inconsistent with the entire social pattern of urban existence.

The Vanishing Home

Nowadays people do not want to be bothered with things that have to be taken care of, and they therefore live to a greater and greater extent in apartment hotels where every service is at their instant disposal. It is costly, but it is more economical than maintaining separate abodes, especially as we approach the center of the city where rents and land values render the holding of land for private residence a luxury.

This year alone 69 huge hotels, containing some 30,000 rooms, have been built or are building in New York . . . just after the War there

were probably not more than 40,000 first-class hotel rooms in the whole city. Today there are three times as many. A recent estimate gives 800 hotels in New York, with more than 300 of the first class.[3]

These rooms are not for transients alone. Many are in residential hotels, some of which have rooms for transients only if they are the guests of hotel residents. Thus they take the place of the "guest room" in the old-fashioned home. What a radical change this is from the type of home in which the family patterns now struggling for survival in the city were fashioned!

Paraphrasing a child's rhyme, Stephen Leacock pointedly and humorously portrays the changed situation. He suggests that some of the poetry on which our older generation was brought up does not fit the present day life.

There was when I was young, a poem that everybody knew and loved that ran:

I remember, I remember
The house where I was born
And the little window where the sun
Came peeping in at morn.
Etc., etc. . . .

I needn't quote the rest of it. The essential thought is in the lines above. But alas! The poem is dropping out: it no longer fits. Here, however, is a revised edition that may keep it going for years:

I wish I could remember
The house where I was born
And the little window where perhaps
The sun peeped in at morn.
But father can't remember
And mother can't recall
Where they lived in that December —
If it was a house at all.
It may have been a boarding house
Or a family hotel,
A flat or a tenement;
It's very hard to tell.
There's only one thing certain from my questioning as yet,
Wherever I was born it was a matter of regret.[4]

The deeper significance of this sober jest would not have been comprehended a generation ago. The forces involved are the impelling dynamics of secondary society which threaten the dissolution of family life.

Home Traditions

The terms "home" and "family" are resonant with meaning which in the social consciousness has little relation to reality. The meaning is in the *mores:* in law, religion, and literature, and these arose out of the past. Let us take first the home which, according to Fairchild,[5] "represents an aggregate of fixed relations." Formerly when all the intimacies of life centered there, and when most of man's associations served to identify him with the home, it was the one place where he was most secure and most completely welded into the social order. His status in the community was tied up with and was a reflection of his status in the home. These multifarious associations constituted a form of inertia responsive only to the most vigorous impacts of stimulation. Because of this divorcement of the ideal from the reality, students of the home and the family are ever misunderstanding one another. Having in mind the cottage and the climbing vines so much idealized, the judge in a court of domestic relations tells the couples at the bar to "go home and make up," not realizing that he is talking to city couples whose marital lives have been wrecked upon the shoals of what was once a stable institution. The reason for the dissolution of the home has been realistically expressed as follows:

> What is too often overlooked is the fact that the home life mourned by the current Jeremiahs was developed and standardized under conditions that prevail in the world today only in the remotest backwaters. The American home of pious legend was essentially a farmer's home; the home of today must adapt itself to city life. Why should a city mother, with all the aids and arts of a complex civilization at her command, make a virtue of a farm wife's dire necessities? . . .
>
> The moralists allege that the alternative to the orthodox home is

anarchy and crime, but that is simply buncombe. Whatever we are headed toward is quite as apt to be better as it is to be worse. The fact that the transition is disconcerting and painful means nothing. The transition from polygamy to monogamy among the Mormons was also painful and many old Mormons still believe that it was, therefore, immoral. The transition from Europe to America was painful to all the people whose descendants now constitute the American nation. The transition from country life to city life was perhaps more painful still.[6]

The urban home of today — sometimes expressively designated the "domestic unit" — has no antecedent in the preindustrial cities; just as the family that seems to be emerging has no antecedent in previous cultures. In less than a generation the home has shaken itself free of many of its ancient characteristics, and some of its most fundamental traditions. It has evolved from its rural setting, where it enjoyed complete independence, to an urban setting marked by an equally extreme interdependence. This has been a profoundly significant chapter in our studies of social change. The self-sufficient home of the past, feasible with a united family, where all the members participated in the domestic economy, was an aggregate of related functioning parts occupying a minimum area of space — the house with rooms for every function; spacious porches, out-buildings, rear and front yards, garden, lawn, field, woods, livestock, and fences all around.

Mobility and Family Life

The city home has ceased to be associated with a single spot; at least there is no continuity of a specific location. A man identifies himself with Chicago. That is his home. His family lives there. He has a sister living in Oak Park and a brother in Woodlawn. His parents live on the North Shore. He came home after a year's absence during which time he had not communicated with his people. He had to call on a friend to locate his family. He had a home town and, in a sense, a home neighborhood but no specific spot was home for any length of time. When home was an aggregate of functions and associations it tended to have continuity

of location, but the city-dweller's home is a dispersion of functions and associations. It is less the center of a household economy and more the segment of a community economy; it is "less (than before) a thing to be lived in, to be continually adorned, to be beautified by continuous enrichments, and thus grow old with dignity and be a symbol of something beside a title-deed." [7]

Two intimately related factors — really different aspects of a single process — have brought about this state of affairs: the industrial revolution, or the manipulation of machines, and the consequent urbanization of the population, which either flocks to the city or is being urbanized by influences which radiate out to it. People followed the factories to the city. More factories moved, supplementing the old domestic industries which had resulted from a previous industrial invasion. Domestic industries had succeeded an earlier system of household economy. The growth of industrial cities brought into existence social and economic classes, spatially separated and socially distinct. The beginning of the industrial revolution marked the passing of the isolation of the home, every advance in industry relieving it of some function and lessening the regard in which it was held.

The Decline of Home Industry

As factories began to manufacture cloth more cheaply than it could be made at home, women found employment in the mills, sometimes leaving their homes to live in boarding-houses. Thus began the mobility of women which has progressed until it now appears in extreme forms in urban societies. No previous economic order except slavery so readily detached women from home and family. This alone was fundamental and disturbing but it was only the beginning. The farmer began to sell his raw material and buy finished goods. The factory continued to make more and different articles — tools, utensils, furniture — and came even to prepare and preserve foods. Each specialty taken from the home tended to detach also the extra labor which formerly was a

part of the domestic economy. Confining his productive activities to the creating of raw materials for the market, the most efficient farmer at present buys at least sixty per cent of the goods he uses. The urban home, producing no raw material, is left with but one function — consumption. The members of the urban family are active only in a secondary fashion in the production processes, that is, as they sell their services in the industrial market.

The old-style home of the rural pattern and the new-style home of the urban pattern differ in the degree to which they have submitted to the pressures for standardization and mechanization. Perhaps we ought to say that the chances for the survival of the urban home, at least, depend upon such accommodation. The urban home has been virtually swallowed by the specialized-individualistic-competitive-impersonal scheme of production which economists are beginning to call a metropolitan economy. The ideal of the urban home may be gleaned from the advertisements in household magazines or from literature now emerging from the city. The sketches by Milt Gross of urban life where the housewives, instead of visiting over the back-yard fence, carry on their conversation through the dumb-waiter shaft, are significant contrasts to such stories as Gorky, for example, has written about domestic life in the Russian villages. Groves has given some thought to this matter of bridging the gap between the rural pattern of home life and the urban pattern. He contrasts the two as follows:

> . . . Homestead conditions are abnormal in the urban environment; not only are they expensive, they also deny the home-dwellers that freedom from homekeeping tasks which is one of the necessities for those who attempt to get the full benefit of urban life. The dwelling house for most city people must be one that restricts the home as compared with the former homestead type. Due to congestion of population, expense of building and maintenance, and for some because of the desire to be rid of individual heating and the irksome household cares, the home is adjusting itself to narrower quarters and lately is accepting a dwelling-place that makes impossible the sense of individual responsibility of

the family that lives by itself and has control of its own surroundings as did the family in the homestead. The responsibility which the public formerly fixed upon the family is now distributed among landlord, agent, tenants and the officials of the community administration itself.[8]

Communized Multiple Dwellings

The explanation is found in phenomena more subtle than the fact that the family is losing control over its surroundings. The city family is no more the victim of its surroundings than the farm family that dominated its life by the changing phases of the moon. What the city family is losing is control over itself. Its social organization does not fit. In other cultures families have been piled up and crowded together, but they remained neighbors. Other elements have entered here; homes have been shorn of parts and functions by the same token that the forces of impersonalism have altered the quality of family intercourse. By the cost of space, yards, front and rear, have been reduced in size until the law has had to interfere, limiting the height of buildings and specifying a minimum of light and air. Both garden and outbuildings are missing, even porches are lacking in the most modern apartments. Each cubicled family has a stall in the basement where articles which once collected dust in the attic may be stored. Although these outer appendages have been removed, their functions remain to be communized by the numerous families in residence. Wood-shed and coal-bin have retreated to the basement where a central heating and hot-water plant supply all families. A central refrigeration plant, accessory stores and restaurants tend to reduce personal responsibility. The landlord attends to the janitor and maid service, the lobby, the reception room for one's friends, decoration and repairs, so that indirectly the relationship becomes coöperative.

These numerous accessories of the multiple home which the resident families have in common were once the ordinary advantages of individual homes. The same is true of other utilities which they share with the larger community — the city or semi-

public corporations. Each apartment is connected with the water and gas mains, the electric current, sewer and other systems for the disposition of household wastes. Strangers to each other, the families share impersonally the telephone, radio, newspaper, and mail service.

Home interiors show the effects of the modern demand for efficiency. The corner baker and the chain-store have made home-baking a waste of time as well as an undue expense. Electric plates have taken the place of the bulky old-style range. The delicatessen store prepares food to be served on the table and the butcher is willing to sell a quarter of a chicken or a single lamb chop. Fresh stocks arriving every morning at the fruiterers and grocers reduce the inconvenience of the limited pantry space and a 25-pound ice-box. House-work has been refined from a laborious ordeal — washing, cleaning, mending, scrubbing, baking, and cooking — to mechanical efficiency. When these tasks are performed by specialists, what becomes of what some psychologists call the "home-making instinct"?[9]

Results of High Rents

The high cost of space permits no useless paraphernalia. As fast as parts cease to function, they are deleted. The size of the kitchen has diminished until it is no larger than a serviceable pantry formerly was. Where the pantry as such survives it has been reduced to a built-in cupboard, but generally it and the kitchen have been combined in a narrow alcove called a kitchenette and in ultra-modern apartments, a serving pantry, or colloquially, the "mixing closet". The dining-room and living-room, once separate, are usually one. A corner or alcove serves the purposes of a hall. The dining-room, if any, appears in the form of a built-in table flanked by stationary seats.

The forces involved in the stripping process — essentially economic — are the same that require lighter automobiles, smaller typewriters and less encumbered offices. Coeval with the reduction

of space has gone on an elimination of fixtures. Lack of floor space has banished large pianos, desks, center tables, couches that do not fold, and " what-nots ". Less wall space has doomed large portraits, scenic pictures, paper-racks and other hanging fixtures. Family albums, post-card collections, baskets and art boxes full of trinkets and oddities, formerly so essential for the entertainment of visitors, have practically disappeared. Utilities alone remain, provided there is a niche for them. In the modern home the only informal spot is the closet. Bedrooms may become smaller, but closets are made larger to serve as attic, rummage shop, and catch-all for trunks, boxes, and any other articles to be kept out of sight. Whatever remains of the home has been subjected to change in the interest of mechanical efficiency. Far from objecting, the city-dweller, according to Miriam Beard, is quite elated. She writes:

> With astonishing technical fluency he (the tenant) will explain to you. He points out the " reception alcove," clothes chute, vacuum attachment, running ice water and electric can opener. Everything is collapsible, sliding, folding, built-in, grooved or hung on pivots. These devices, he will tell you, are the " twenty-eight comfort units " without which life is, in America, not considered lively.
>
> He would even show you his baby — if it were possible. But in the daytime it is sent out to an " infant school," now such an essential feature of this city. There, instead of aimlessly walking and wailing, like the 1888 model babies, it is scientifically taught to " coördinate eye and foot " and " liberate the individuality ". When it is returned home, at night, any member of the family, " without taking a step," can " enclose " it with a " vertical shutter " in the tidy " nursery alcove." [10]

The city home may be considered less as a social center and more as a mechanized arrangement. Described as lacking in or having " tone ", it must measure up to a standard of excellence set by apartment advertisements. It must be " smart, modern, up-to-date " and at the same time " have a quiet air of good taste and poise ". Whether detrimental to society or not, the modern home just described is the goal of urban residential life. It is

what remains after a long process of elimination has held sway — the strangely modified replica of the home of tradition out of which American culture sprang.

Urban Home Ownership

Home ownership has declined at a pace equal to the stripping process just described. The amount of tenancy tends to increase directly with the size of the city. In the 1920 United States Census, Des Moines, Iowa, headed the list of cities for home ownership, with fifty-one and one-tenth per cent; New York was at the other extreme, with but twelve and seven-tenths per cent. The decline in home-owning is mainly at the heart of the city. On the outskirts, owing to a passing suburban trend of the population, an increase in favor of home-owning seems to prevail. The increase is confined principally to the thirty per cent of the population with yearly incomes over $2,500. The renting population, mostly within the city, includes a small proportion of the well-to-do who do not care to own homes or who have country homes in addition to their apartments, and the great mass of people with incomes under $2,500 who for that reason cannot escape tenancy. Even among these, many may not care to.[11]

The decrease in home-ownership in the city may bear a relation to the decline of family life. The city-dweller is in the main propertyless and without a property base the family lacks one of its chief incentives to unity. The burden and impracticability of home-owning increases with rising land values. Within certain limits it is fairly profitable to own a two- or three-family dwelling, rent one or two floors and live on another. When the house is thus divided between landlord and tenants it assumes more the nature of a business than a home and the resident-owner is more likely to have definite investment interests than permanent home-making interests. Owning the home, with all its attendant details is no longer an item of domestic economy, but is a matter for investors and experts. To be executed efficiently,

home ownership must be made a specialty on a large scale. Owners find it convenient to engage realtors to make rent collections, insurance men to protect them against loss, and mechanical experts to operate the plant. Even the experiments in coöperative housing have to be operated as a departmentalized business with experts in charge. Home ownership impedes the mobility which persists in and seems to be consistent with urban life. Therefore few urban homes are owned by their occupants. There is also the difficulty of securing servants and even the wealthy are relinquishing their mansions as the following extract from Herbert Croly indicates:

> The Vincent Astor house is being torn down for two reasons. In the first place it has outlived its social usefulness and, in the second place, it is profitable to tear it down. New York society has changed much since the days of old Mrs. Astor. It is no longer necessary for its queens and duchesses to build houses in which four hundred guests can be sumptuously entertained. "Society" itself is broken up into smaller cliques and sets, who see a great deal of each other and very little of anybody else. Of course they entertain a great deal but they give dinners and dances to a small number of people rather than receptions and balls to the whole of New York society. They do not need such magnificent and capacious residences; and wealthy as they are, they cannot afford the luxury of maintaining a palace merely as a background for an occasional festivity. The income taxes are too exhaustive and the cost of domestic service is too burdensome. Since it is necessary to economize somewhere, they naturally prefer to give up an expense which no longer gives them much or any satisfaction.
>
> The consequence is that both in city and country the fashion of building houses which are almost palatial in scale is passing away. American millionaires who have built them or inherited such places are in many cases abandoning them and living in smaller and more personal residences. When these palaces happen to have been erected in the country or at Newport, they are usually for the most part a total loss to their owners; but when they occupy a sufficiently large site on Fifth Avenue in New York City, the increased value of the land may well enable the owner to make money by throwing his palace away. That is, he may be able to sell his land at the present time for an amount more than sufficient to pay for its original cost and for the cost of the destroyed buildings.

The construction of private residences in the old city of Manhattan, now the Borough of Manhattan, has almost entirely ceased. The old houses are, of course, frequently bought and remodeled by new owners, but more often they are bought by builders of apartment houses and torn down. This is true of Fifth Avenue as it is of any other street or avenue in Manhattan. The only new buildings now being constructed on upper Fifth Avenue are apartment houses; and the apartments in them are of course intended for the same social and economic class as that which formerly occupied private residences on similar locations. The apartments may rent for from $30,000 to $40,000 a year, and may contain accommodations for twelve to fifteen servants, but even then they are intended for an existence much more modest than that which the Astors and the Vanderbilts formerly maintained in their private palaces. It is impossible to entertain more than a few score of people in an apartment, no matter how big it is, and if an American citizen wishes to entertain more than a few score he prefers to do so in a hotel. It is just as well that palatial dwellings should pass. They are economically a waste and socially an anachronism.[12]

Families Without Privacy

Let us turn to the family, to the life inside the home. The prospect that in the center of the city the family may secure anything but an apartment is remote. Manhattan building permits in 1926 included 217 dwellings with 11,315 apartments, or about fifty-two families to the dwelling. Only four of these had less than ten apartments and fifteen had more than a hundred. In 1926, of 133,126 homes provided for families in New York, seventy-one and six-tenths per cent were in apartments with sixteen and two-tenths per cent in one-family houses and twelve and two-tenths per cent in two-family houses. For 272 cities in the United States in 1926, the number of apartment houses amounted to forty-one and four-tenths per cent of all houses built. This is a considerable proportional increase, the number of apartment dwellings in 1925 being thirty-three and seven-tenths per cent of the total. Some sociologists view this cramping with alarm and Groves insists that it reflects itself in family life. He writes:

The strain put upon the home that tries to maintain itself in crowded quarters or under conditions that forbid the reasonable degree of privacy necessary for family home-consciousness is all too well known by social workers in our cities. A house cannot provide adequate conditions for a home unless it is closed against outsiders to permit the growth of a sense of home-exclusiveness.

If the homestead over-emphasized this exclusiveness and brought to the home the dangers of extreme self-interest, clannishness, and neighborhood feuds, the present housing situation in our most crowded sections of the cities offers the opposite menace. The family life suffers from a sense of intrusion from the outside simply because the house cannot provide complete privacy. Crowding injures the family life itself. It may even destroy its happiness and drive the various members into unsympathetic attitudes toward each other.[13]

Family privacy has been from the beginning one of the stock arguments against multiple dwellings. The urban family seems to have fought a persistent but losing fight for privacy. When the elevated railroads were built in Chicago the great popular objection to them was that people would be able to look into the upstairs windows of the homes along the way. However, the urban family seems to be adapting itself; residents in multiple dwellings mutually ignore each other. In the slums, it is not so much lack of privacy as the attending circumstances which have demoralized family life. European peasants frequently have less family privacy than the poor in the slums of our cities, but the immigrants are here without the moral support of a community control, are isolated from a supporting social environment, which, as Thomas points out in his *Polish Peasant*,[14] is so effective in the villages of the homeland.

The Decline of Home Social Life

The home has ceased to be a social center in the old sense. The time-honored custom of visiting has been all but discontinued. According to some critics of American manners, we have traded solid comfort for ostentatious luxury. The modern home is

neither restful nor inviting. Whereas in the early home there was always a place for guests, in the present home they can be housed only with great discomfort. Urban hospitality is not of the generous, expansive type which prevailed in early American life, particularly during the period of settlement. Hospitality has declined with visiting.

This constitutes one of the best reasons for believing that the home cannot return to the idealized pattern of which the Fifth Avenue mansions were the acme of perfection. Like the cottage of its day, the mansion was a self-sufficient social center. Throughout the social scale, in imitation of the social leaders, the apartment with several baths, instead of the mansion, has become the dream-goal. Apartment-dwelling tends to rob family life of as many of its attributes as it has stripped apartments of their former embellishments. Whereas in the domestic economy of the old-fashioned home, everyone had some function, in the city those who do not work are by that token reduced to dependency. This holds for the unskilled and semi-skilled groups in particular. Just as it is a luxury in the biological sense for the aged of a species to live on after they have reared their young, so in the great city it tends to be a luxury for a family to have attached to it non-earning members. In the pure economic sense children who are forbidden by law to work and old folks who cannot get employment are the burden of the breadwinners. The closer people live to the poverty line the more difficult it is to feed and clothe these dependent persons. In economic crises we have numerous examples of the old being abandoned or thrust out. Thus in most cities there are not institutions enough to care for the aged. As they face these realities we find people getting more and more cautious about the birthrate. To increase the number of children means to increase the amount of financial burden, for each child born is an economic liability until adolescence. Here we meet the paradox that among the poor there is less concern about the birth rate than among the rich.

Much of the social life of the early home was identified with

eating — always a socializing function. In the city home eating has become perfunctory because the whole family is rarely present at meals. This does not mean that eating in the city is not still a socializing function, but it centers in the restaurant, the tea room and the luncheon clubs instead of the home.

The Decline of Home Recreation

Neither do the members of the family play together as formerly. When they do it is generally separately and outside the home. When the leading families lived in mansions on the Avenue, the home was the center of social and recreational life. Now that they are moving into duplex and triplex apartments, new social patterns are coming into vogue. It is no longer the custom to entertain the "400"; smaller and more intimate groups are invited, sometimes to the home, but just as often to hotels, restaurants or theatres. This custom is followed all the way down the social scale. The city-dweller comes home for rest or to change clothes and shave to go out for his recreation. He goes to play as he goes to work, as an individual. His recreational and social life is a private matter in which he brooks little if any family direction or interference. His private life and his family life are sometimes quite separate. The members of the family work and play with different groups. There is no need of sharing one another's confidences; nor can they if they are of different sex and age groups because each lives his own life, follows the recreation and social pattern of his own experience level. In foreign families, especially, members become estranged; parents cannot understand their children and children lose all sense of responsibility to their parents. A second-generation Polish boy was asked what language he used when speaking with his mother. He answered: "I don't talk to my mother. I just eat and run out." Under the circumstances that was a practical solution. The difference in their daily contacts was such that mother and son had nothing in common. There could develop no *rapport* between them; indeed their con-

tacts are often a source of irritation. In other connections and in groups other than the foreign-born there are degrees of estrangement. The effect of the influences digging at the roots of family life is either to undermine its solidarity or to reduce its numbers.

The Divorce Problem

The disorganization of the family and the break-up of the home find objective manifestation in the rates of delinquency and divorce. Juvenile delinquency is primarily a matter of lack of control. In primitive family life, even in our most isolated rural communities, there is little difficulty with the control of children and little call for discipline. Let any situation arise in which the authority of the adults, particularly parents, is questioned and delinquency begins. Divorce is a matter between parents, as is separation (the poor man's divorce), but where children are involved, a broken home in the background is usually a hindrance to their efforts to adapt themselves to society.[16] According to Mowrer, the divorce rate is the legal recognition of family disintegration.

In addition, the divorce rate indicates that cultural invasions are undermining the *mores* of the different countries. Mowrer goes on to point out how the five highest and five lowest state rates compare in 1924. Nevada leads with 1296 divorces per 100,000 population. The other states in order are: Oregon, 368; Texas, 307; Wyoming, 295; Oklahoma, 292. The five lowest rates per 100,000 population are the District of Columbia, 42.7; New York, 23; Georgia, 17.1; North Carolina, 16; and Maryland, 15.2. At the one extreme, Nevada has one divorce for each marriage while Maryland has one for each 15.2 marriages. The case of Nevada is due to the easy nature of the law which attracts transient divorce seekers. As between city and non-city counties the number of divorces per 100,000 for 1900 were respectively 72 and 68. Taking Cook County, Chicago, for practical purposes, as typical of a metropolitan area, we note that its divorce rate exceeds that of the

DIVORCE IN THE UNITED STATES AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Country	*Divorces per 100,000 Population*								
	1924	1923	1922	1921	1916	1913	1911	1906	1901
United States..	151	149	136	...	112	...	...	84	79
Japan.....	...	88	92	94	109	...	113	136	140
France.....	...	60	71	83	11	...	37	27	23
Germany.....	...	...	58	63	15	...	24	20	14
Switzerland...	...	...	54	51	40	...	43	38	30
Belgium.....	...	...	49	49	...	16	14	9	12
Denmark.....	...	...	39	42	31	...	27	23	15
Netherlands...	...	...	28	29	20	...	16	13	11
Sweden.....	...	...	24	21	13	...	11	10	7
Australia.....	...	...	22	26	13	...	12	8	10
Norway.....	...	...	21	23	20	...	17	9	6
Uruguay*....	...	...	...	17	13	...	7	...	...
Scotland.....	...	...	...	11	6	...	...	4	4

* For 1907 rate for Uruguay was 0.1.

rest of the state. In 1924, Cook County had one divorce to each 4.9 marriages while the rest of the state had one to 8.6 marriages. Contrast this with 1887 when the County rate was one to 13.1 and the State one to 13.4. If such statistical data mean anything it would seem that family disorganization is on the increase.[16]

Re-defining Family Life

The home and the family in the modern city have gone through a very drastic metamorphosis. Perhaps it was as great a problem when the matriarchal family yielded to the patriarchal, or when polygamy and polyandry were succeeded by monogamy. A new stabilization is demanded and that would lead to a re-definition of many basic principles of the family culture as well as to a re-definition of the status of the members of the family.

Doubtless the family of today, in adapting itself to the strange and disturbing environment of the modern city, will have to seek some new definition of status for its members and a new orientation in the total cultural situation. Woman will probably rise out of the rôle of a menial leashed to the routine of household work and child-bearing. She will probably not return to the old-time male domination, certainly not to the Rooseveltian ideal of family life. She is learning that the city is hard upon the children of the dying patriarchal family and that it undomesticates the male. Some observers of the situation look hopefully to the rôle the modern woman is going to play in bringing order out of chaos in building a new family life which may be more suited to the city. This period of chaos is only the chaos of transition from the paternal to a maternal family pattern. The man of the urban family is becoming less of a factor in the home. Perhaps there never was a time when he was more removed. He eats one and often two meals a day away from home.

Other observers, notably Henry Ford, do not see chaos in the modern city conditions, much less any shifting of the control of the family from one parent to another. They are quite sure that modern industrial life is producing a superior type of home, and the home, which will be a highly mechanized affair, will strengthen the family. Thus, they would deny that there will emerge any dominating, change-producing, positive leadership redounding to the special advantage of either sex. They only expect an adaptation to the situation quite aloof from the control of any sexually selected group or any other group of organizations. Whatever this final adapting to our present industrial situation, it will result in an equilibrium of the family and the home to a machine-dominated environment.

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Discuss the functions performed by the family during various stages of the evolution of civilization. Do families become weaker or stronger as society increases in complexity?

2. Plato once proposed the abolition of the family. Various modern

theorists have made similar proposals, or have suggested that the passing of the family is inevitable. On the other hand, a social worker recently proclaimed that anyone who attempts to break up a family realizes how persistent are its ends. Discuss these two points of view.

3. Trace the steps according to which the home and family have lost various functions.

4. Make an analysis of a number of homes in the city, a village, and in the open country from the point of view of the variations of activity performed in each.

5. Enumerate the institutions which have arisen to assume functions once performed within the family group.

6. Enumerate the industries which have arisen to perform functions once belonging to the home or family.

7. Municipalities looking toward permanent development frequently strive to secure a large proportion of home-owners as distinguished from renters. What theory underlies this effort?

8. Study some specific urban families from the point of view of the number of social contacts enjoyed by each member of the family. Classify these contacts according to various sets of values. Compare with a similar study of rural or village families.

9. Is the contention sound that a major part of juvenile delinquency is caused by the fact that the parents of second-generation children are unable to maintain adequate control in the new environment?

10. Analyze the recreational activities which go on in an urban home, and compare them with those in village and rural homes.

11. "The Missing Rooms", *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb., 1927, is an article by John Carter who sees the city apartment a menace to family life. He does not find normal community life either in the city or the suburbs. He blames the housing shortage. Is there housing shortage in your city? Are there other causes for the drift to apartment houses?

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. *New York Times Magazine*, December 18, 1927, W. F. Ogburn, Article on social and biological evolution. See also his *Social Change*.

2. Same. See also "The Great American Family," Louis I. Dublin, *The Survey*, Dec. 1, 1927.

3. *New York Times Magazine*, January 8, 1928, p. 12. See also "People Who Live in Hotels," N. S. Hayner, *The Survey*, May 15, 1928.

4. *Harpers Magazine*, July, 1927, p. 253.
5. Immigration, H. P. Fairchild, p. 2 (New York, 1913).
6. *New York World*, December 4, 1927, article by H. L. Mencken.
7. *Social Problems and Education*, E. R. Groves (New York, 1925).
8. Same, p. 132.
9. See "The Behaviorist Looks at Instincts," John B. Watson; *Harpers Magazine*, July, 1927; also "Are Instincts Data or Hypotheses?" by Ellsworth Faris; *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1921.
10. *New York Times Magazine*, November 7, 1927; p. 14.
11. For an excellent picture of some of the conflicts involved in moving from the flat in the slum to the suburb, read a story by Eleanor R. Wembridge, "The New House," in *The Survey Graphic;* VIII (Oct. 1925): 37–41. Also see a short chapter on "The Real Home" in *Kelsey's Rural Guide*, (Boston, 1925), D. S. Kelsey.
12. *The Architectural Record;* Vol. 58 (1925): 186–7.
13. E. R. Groves, p. 134.
14. *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki (New York, 1927), Vol. I, Introduction. Also *The Unadjusted Girl: with Cases and Standpoint for Behavior Analysis*, W. I. Thomas; (Boston, 1923).
15. *Family Disorganization*, E. R. Mowrer (Chicago, 1927) p. 33. See also Bibliography, pp. 300–305; and *The Conservation of the Family*, Paul Popenoe (Baltimore, 1926).
16. *Broken Homes*, Joanna Colcord (New York, 1919) also *Divorce: A Study in Social Causation*, Columbia Studies, (New York, 1909), J. P. Lichtenberger.

XVII

ASPECTS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Primary and Secondary Control

Two decades ago Josiah Strong proclaimed:

> The city, in a position to dictate to state and nation, and yet incapable of self-government, is like Nero on the throne. As the city, by virtue of its preponderant population, is soon to ascend the throne, it is well to glance at some of the powers which are reaching after the city's scepter.[1]

Our distinguished English critic and interpreter, Lord Bryce, long ago pointed out that the one conspicuous failure of American institutions was in the government of our great cities. The question must be asked perennially: Who governs our cities? Where is the seat of control?

The city represents the extreme of what may be called secondary society, the control of which rests[2] with such formal agencies as are included in the characteristic municipal government. Force of numbers alone makes this imperative. In primitive society where the group rarely exceeds a few hundred, such complicated overhead organization is not required — control is face-to-face. There the relations of the individual to the group are intimate and impelling, not formal and transient as in the modern city. There control is a matter of personal response but in the large city, control is removed to the secondary agencies of law and government. With the rise of secondary society, a public is formed. The *mores*, where they exist, have become congealed in laws and institutions.

What is called the "ordering and forbidding technique" breaks down in the city. The primary group, if it does not become

wholly disorganized, becomes at least partially demoralized and relinquishes to institutions and to government the responsibility of controlling the individual. Spencer called this phenomenon the evolution of government and of course would consider the present municipal governments evolutionary outgrowths of the original primary governments.[3] The development is from guidance by custom to guidance by law and from personal execution of traditions and customs to institutional application of law. The manner in which the primary group exercises control is observable in any small village where gossip reigns and where the conduct of each is the interest of all.[4] The non-conformer suffers ostracism perhaps or, in extreme cases, physical punishment, even death. Secondary control by indirection operates differently. Let us take a typical block on the South Side of Chicago, once exclusive residences, to show transition from a closed to an anonymous society.

In the 'eighties, 'nineties and for nearly a decade of the present century, this block was at the heart of one of the exclusive residential streets known as "The Avenue." On either side of the street were ornate and imposing private dwellings. To live on this block was synonymous with having one's name on the social register. With the increasing cosmopolitan nature of the city, with the increasing problem of securing satisfactory domestic help, with the difficulty of making these homes into modern habitations, and with the encroachment of a vice area on one side and the expansion of a Negro area on the other, families began to move toward the suburbs.

With the exodus of certain of the social leaders from this block, the social prestige of "The Avenue" dropped, and a general migration began. Remaining families who preferred to retain their homes, turned to each other for protection, agreeing among themselves to keep the block inviolate against the invasion of undesirable elements, particularly the Negroes. The agreement did not prevent other people from moving or the status of the block from further decline. In the main, those moving away respected the agreement and sold or leased only to white people who took the old homes over not for residences but for make-shift light housekeeping or rooming-house purposes. Gradually with one or two exceptions, landladies replaced housewives. Two rows of evacuated homes became the burden of real-estate agents. To justify retaining such buildings as habitations, rents had to be so high that the

legitimate rooming and light-housekeeping people were crowded out. Vice, always willing to pay large rentals, came in. A number of the once famous homes then became infamous resorts. In the days when the "Blue Book" was the standard of worth, the unwelcome invader could have been effectively eliminated by being snubbed.

The first recourse of the remaining residents to protect the name of their block was to turn to the police, demanding that they drive out the undesirable vice elements. The police made a gesture but since the "driving" had to be done from the nearby station, and the police do not like to take the initiative in such matters anyway, the appeal was not effective. Then the residents appealed to a reform agency which at that time was engaged in cleaning up the city. The agency, an institution supported by private funds and operated by professional employees, sent expert investigators into the district. Acting as detectives, they secured the necessary damaging evidence showing that vice was on the block and that the police were not doing their duty. This information was turned over to the newspapers.

The newspaper exposé forced the police into action, and the block was cleared of vice, but the houses were left vacant. For the rents demanded no other white people could be secured as tenants. The only recourse for the real-estate men was to rent to the Negroes who were crowding in from two sides. Unable to secure houses, the Negro families were willing to pay high prices, but they were forced to crowd in in large numbers to meet their payments, in some instances a whole family occupying a single room.

Roundabout Social Control

As an illustration of secondary group control the case cited contains a number of significant elements: (a) There was a rapid disorganization and demoralization of the primary group and primary control with the beginning of the migration of the leaders. This loss of social equilibrium let the bars down for a social invasion. (b) The remaining residents, having no direct control, appealed to the police power where control theoretically lay. Since the police would not take the responsibility of spying for evidence, appeal had to be made to an institution, the existence of which was to safeguard the morals and conventions of society. (c) Sometimes the reform agency can appeal to the police directly,

but in this case, a third factor had to be brought in, namely, the newspaper. (d) The newspaper, turning the spotlight of publicity on the situation, aroused the municipal authorities to action. The complaining parties on the block made no direct appeal to the public, nor did the public make any direct demonstration. In such matters the public expresses itself only at elections or upon other occasions when it meets to vote. The ballot signifies that one or another program of action is favored or that one candidate rather than another is preferred to represent the public. The public has other less formal ways of expression, but only through the media of crowd or mob action. The secondary control exhibited in driving vice off the block through the indirect means of agencies is traceable to no particular group of people but to an institutionalized social consciousness. The areas in which such agencies generally operate are rarely the areas from which they draw most of their financial support. The control is imposed upon areas of social disorganization and moral decay, the support coming from areas enjoying greater social stability and more effective primary group (family and neighborhood) organization.

When through the ordinary processes of social dynamics, a community changes from the personal informal control of the primary group to the impersonal formal control of the secondary group, the *mores* crystalize in law and institutions which become the responsibility, or the directing agents of government. Apart from all these, the government is an impersonal agency for political control. Within the larger whole, the smaller socially controlled groups by their codes still tend to dominate the code of the larger group, the public. For the secondary group, the law, the government, and institutions become the repositories of culture, the embodiment of the social environment.

Formal Urban Government

Government has longest been identified with cities[8] — ever the home of dynamic society — which is akin to saying that

cities have been the centers of freedom. No great city has ever been in bondage, except transient bondage, without decaying. Monarchs have inhabited and ruled cities but even they have respected the power of the freedom-loving mob, the urban public. Although many of the Old-World cities are ruled by honorary office-holders similar to the trustees of a philanthropic organization, most modern industrial cities are governed by elected officials and enjoy certain powers of home rule granted them by charters from the larger political unit, the state or the nation.

In the main, the formal urban government consists of three types: aldermanic, commission, and city manager. The aldermanic government is reminiscent of the beginnings of the democratic city which was composed of a number of neighborhoods. These neighborhoods (primary groups) were the wards of the aldermen. The voters in the wards, generally home-owners or at least property owners, looked to the aldermen to represent their interests in the larger community, the city (secondary group). The aldermen constituted the law-making branch. The executive branch, mayor, treasurer, recorder, etc., along with the judiciary were (and are) general officials elected by the city at large. Created on the side by the council and the executive department (mayor) are the usual commissions (civil service, library, etc.), bureaus (weights and measures, housing, labor, immigration, etc.) and departments (health, education, welfare, police, etc.).[8]

The commission form of government is an attempt to insure a business administration and to escape some of the evils which in great cities are identified with the aldermanic-mayor-council arrangement. The underlying assumption is that urban administrative functions are city-wide and should not be submitted to local partisan interests. The recent increase in popularity of the commission form of government is significant sociologically because it indicates a tendency to depart from the original primary group local interests in government toward the more cosmopolitan secondary group interests. The modern city-dweller lives in terms

of the whole city. The divisions of commission government vary from city to city — streets and public improvements, buildings, and housing, parks and recreation, health and sanitation, public safety, and others — but ordinarily from five to seven commissioners are elected, of whom the chief acts as mayor or president.

The City Manager

The city-manager plan is often introduced[7] to supplement the commission form of government, or the manager may be added by the aldermanic government. Hired as an expert to direct particularly the financial affairs of the city as he would a business, the city manager frequently retains office during several administrations. His function is to save money on buying, contracts, the public employment service, and to eliminate duplication in the different municipal departments. The city manager is an American addition to urban government. The first city manager was appointed in Staunton, Virginia, in 1908. By 1928 as many as 364 cities had hired such officials at salaries ranging from $1,800 to $25,000 a year. Most of these cities are small, the exceptions being Cleveland, 769,841; Cincinnati, 401,247; Rochester, 395,700; Kansas City, 324,410; Norfolk, 159,080; Dayton, 152,559; Fort Worth, 106,482.

The outstanding example of the effectiveness of the city manager plan in a large city is in Cleveland where on January 1, 1924, William R. Hopkins was chosen the first city manager. He has become virtually the city's chief executive. To date the experiment has been a phenomenal success, especially since general opinion is that the plan belongs to the smaller city.[8] At least the city manager plan has indicated so far that the running of a city is a business. We offer at length a review of the manager's accomplishments in Dayton during the first ten years ending January, 1924:

Reduced the cost of garbage collection from $2.60 to $1.60 a ton, and built a modern garbage reduction plant that is self-sustaining.

Increased the water supply ten million gallons a day and is making comprehensive plans for providing adequate supply for the future.

Placed the water works on a paying basis.

Built two covered water reservoirs holding ten million gallons each, and one section reservoir of five million gallon capacity.

Organized the Health Department on a modern basis, introducing a staff of five city physicians to serve the indigent sick in their homes and in clinics established by the city.

Established a centralized public health nursing system by combining forces with private public health organizations and placing the whole under the supervision of the Health Department.

Established a complete food and dairy service; requires pasteurization of all milk sold in the city and medical examination of all food handlers.

Reduced infant death rate from 124 per thousand to 67 per thousand.

Moved the city workhouse to a hundred-acre farm. Erected a new workhouse which is operated by modern correctional methods.

Introduced a modern parole system for workhouse prisoners by which prisoners are permitted to work in factories at regular wages, their earnings being collected by the superintendent and applied to the care of their dependents.

Operates a city-owned country club comprising 312 acres. It has two eighteen-hole golf courses, tennis courts, etc. The expenses for the upkeep of the park are met by the revenues from membership in the club and the operation of the concessions.

Established a free legal aid bureau with an attorney paid by the city.

Works in connection with the Dayton Playgrounds and Garden Association in conducting public playgrounds.

Extended and improved public recreation in Dayton.

Established a crime prevention bureau and a bureau of policewomen.

Motorized the entire fire department, established a fire prevention bureau. Insurance rates reduced 43%.

Established a home for dependent girls.

Installed a modern accounting system and a scientific budget.

Established a sinking fund on an actuarial basis.

Established a centralized purchasing department and operates a centralized store system.

Introduced a continuous audit of accounts by outside accountants.

Reorganized the Finance Department, by which a better control of income and expenditure was established.

Introduced garbage collection throughout the city.

Introduced medical inspection in the public schools.

Established a Civic Music League under whose auspices leading artists are heard at popular prices.[9]

The chief remaining obstacle to the efficiency of the manager system is, of course, the professional politician. The larger the city the more of a force he is, which explains the tardiness with which business methods and efficiency find their way into the management of cities of the million class.

Governmental Theory and Practise

In formal organization and workings municipal government is a science in itself. Political science has to date given most of its attention to the theoretical aspects of government. Actual government has been somewhat of a stumbling block to the application of, for instance, theoretical town-hall democracy, and therefore students of government have begun to consider the invisible controls. Connected with every branch and activity of municipal government is a related extra-official activity reflecting some reality of urban life. Whether these outside forces are honorable and social, or vicious and subterranean, the formal government of the city is subject to them in some degree.

In theoretical political science, the city is an aggregate of people residing within a geographical area and sharing through the franchise the responsibility as well as the privileges of government. An assumption of a consciousness of responsibility accompanies that of political unity or cohesiveness. Actually there is little evidence of social or political unity except that which inheres in the structural arrangement of the city; nor is there often any evidence of the assumed union of interest. The assumption that an interested and alert citizenry will be informed on the current problems of the municipality, the merits of the candidates, the records of the officials, and the policies of the government, much less the issues involved, seems to have little promise of ever being realized. The whole matter is too complicated and the

rewards too meager to invite the attention of the average citizen. An infinitely confusing number of lines of interest intersect the city, and the number of lesser unities — national, racial, religious, occupational, and other groups — is increasing. All these groups are striving for expression and power in reference to particular, and sometimes isolated, interests, which are often not even remotely related with their theoretical interests as political stockholders of the city. Their relations to the city government, if any, are in terms of these specialized interests.

Urban government has become so far-reaching and intricate, so many-sided and involved that to most laymen it is a mystery, and the business of manipulating it becomes a profession. The rewards and the control go to those who are in the *know of things*. Professional politics comes into play whenever the layman surrenders his prerogatives as citizen in charge. Then the politician goes seriously into the business of garnering and controlling votes, the symbols of power scattered among the populace who are becoming more and more indifferent to their value until in some cities important elections are carried by fifteen per cent or less of the qualified voters. Politicians realize that in an urban democracy friendship and personal loyalty are more to be sought than votes. Even more powerful than friendship is the practice of "bringing pressure to bear." This invisible government — its power is not disputed — is a business of favor-trading between key people in power, or of bargaining with key groups.

Dictatorship of Groups

The rôle of key people and groups is evident during an election. Jones wants to be mayor in a city of a million. He is intimately acquainted with three hundred people, by sight with a thousand or so. Through the newspapers his name is known to half a million. He is a university trustee, a member of a club, a lodge, a fraternity, the Chamber of Commerce, and a professional association. His private life is conventionally virtuous and his

public record clean. He has all the credentials, but before he can be nominated or even considered, he must be sponsored and presented by some group. The general public, scattered and unorganized, have little to do with the choice of candidates until called upon to vote. Some group generally presents his name to the public. Then Jones, candidate for mayor, is plunged into a speaking foray under the auspices of women's clubs, business clubs, patriotic societies, church groups, scientific and literary circles. One day he speaks before the retail grocers' association, the next, to some labor group. Each is a sales talk to a specific interest group with something at stake in the election. Each group maneuvers to have him "commit himself" favorably on its hobby or interest. Through these isolated appearances he is able, if his publicity agent reports him colorfully and well, to appeal to the reading public. The groups before which Jones appears must be tactfully selected. In a mining or an industrial city it might not be wise for him to deliver a keynote speech under the auspices of the Anti-Saloon League, whereas in an agricultural city it might be advantageous. He finds that for every issue upon which he is expected to take a stand there are opposing groups. The business interests in the center of the city may want a subway to which the commercial associations in the outlying sections will be solidly opposed, fearing it will destroy their business. If Jones is discreet, takes the side most popular, and remains securely noncommittal upon other issues, and if he deports himself more convincingly than his opponents, we may assume that he will be elected.

In his official capacity his relation to the people is no more intimate. It is the groups or the heads of groups with whom he comes in contact. He dedicates a monument for a national group. He receives the leaders of a national convention assembled in his city. Forming a committee, the social organizations wait on him relative to some problem of public welfare. He grants an audience to the representatives of the reform agencies. He does not meet this, that, or another individual of the million in the city,

but reaches them by this most indirect, remote, and secondary method of conferences. Behind these groups, theoretically, is the potential power of the voting public, and each commands respect in direct proportion to the numbers it represents. Although not often exercised, this power of the ballot is a reality to be respected, for with an aroused public opinion it can be used as it was recently in the William Hale Thompson election in Chicago when approximately eight out of every ten eligible voters went to the polls.[10]

Group Governmental Activities

Variously motivated by public, group, class, or individual interests, these factors of the extra-official government take the forms and employ the means most consistent with the ends for which they exist. The objective for which the group exists becomes the end toward which it strives and through which it aspires to power and status. The technique it employs depends partly upon the objectives and partly upon its opportunities for expression as well as its conception of right and wrong. Given the optimum conditions, any group expands indefinitely, and expanding strives to manipulate other groups and interests. This will to power naturally influences the processes of government. A group acting in the interest of good government, municipal ownership, law enforcement, housing, city-planning, and such public interests manifests an ardor for growth and control not essentially different from business, social, recreational, and such groups that are organized in terms of special interests.

Interest groups organize to accomplish some common objective, to share a social life, to engage in welfare work, to promote education or recreation; in short, they are organized to *put something over*. In this they endeavor to bring advantage to themselves, or if for the public weal, to reflect credit upon themselves. Once the group acquires a consequential size it finds expression through its publications and in other ways tries to share public attention as well as public life. This ultimately leads to

lobbying in legislatures to bring about the desired program of protection and the manipulation of elections to put the desired candidates into office.

Manufacturers' associations, on the one hand, and labor unions, on the other, typify objectively how the will to power of organized groups finds expression. With reference to immigration policies, labor laws, labor injunctions, the two are opposed and their struggles sooner or later lead to efforts to capture the governmental controls. In the interest of public health, medical associations in many of the larger cities and in some states try by law to curtail and suppress health fakers and quacks as well as the newer health practitioners, the osteopaths and chiropractors. By this opposition these newer practitioners in their turn are wrought into compact groups for defense, and in the name of public health try by law to curtail and suppress health fakers and quacks as well as to raise the standards of practice in their own fields.

Control by Indirection

In both New York and Chicago are teachers' unions that include a small but militant minority of the public school teachers, and speak for the teachers of the whole city whenever their interests are involved, interceding for those who have been discharged without a hearing, or who have been discriminated against in promotion, lobbying for teachers' salaries, and bringing pressure to bear upon all that concerns the relation between the schools and the public. They possess power disproportionate to their numerical strength, and since they are the only source of news from the teaching group, they enjoy an influence equally disproportionate to the space they can command in the daily press. In secondary society, where gossip and other forms of personal communication have less influence, the will to power of the group is impotent unless it can capture its share of the printed page.

Although their positions and property are within the political bounds of the city, many of the key persons in these

dominant groups live outside. One of the strange paradoxes of the modern city is that many of its actual leaders have no vote there because they reside in the suburbs. Were it not for the extra-official influence they may be able to wield through their group activities, their urban political force would be no greater than that of newly arrived aliens. The standards of living of the professional classes as well as of the upper and more conservative classes commit them to suburban residence. As a result, their voting strength is curtailed, while the voting strength of the non-property-holding lower and lower-middle classes residing in the city is exaggerated. Los Angeles is an interesting exception because its suburbs are included within the urban boundaries. All are citizens of the metropolis. This may be one reason for the conservatism of the city government, a type of conservatism not often found in large cities.[11]

The control of the city by indirection through special interest groups and classes on the one hand, and censorship, law enforcement and reform forces on the other, eradicates the basis of town-hall democracy — a government of neighbors who maintained through their chosen representatives a direct relationship with the seat of authority. Present urban democracy rests upon a different and wholly unforeseen basis. Although not constitutionally recognized, the interest groups exercise more effective control than the individual voter who is constitutionally sovereign. Unless by means of wealth or influence he is able to force his way into the intimate circle of the politician, to become his extra-official ally, the individual voter is politically impotent. Business, labor, professional, national, racial, social, and recreational groups, groups to promote welfare and reform, and other groups are functioning aggregates in urban life, organizing because they have something at stake. In and through them, urban society finds its most effective mode of expression. If democracy, unadapted as it is to urban life, is to be reconstructed, greater emphasis might well be laid upon group control, and less upon individual control.

Political Pressure

Contemporary urban government is an activity for the experts and specialists in which the lone citizen can generally neither participate nor be informed. The so-called evils of individual extra-official control of government are identified with most political corruption. On the other hand, the politician cannot reward the special-interest group for aid and comfort without in some way serving the public. For the support of a realty association, he extends the water-mains and sewage to a new subdivision, or he rewards a businessmen's association by paving a street. Social service organizations can be satisfied by the appointment of committees to study the problems which worry them. When he deals with groups he tends to serve the public, but individuals must be paid in kind — in personal service, with jobs or contracts, privileges or immunities. With them the politician must share something and that marks the beginning of spoils or machine control, especially when it leads to sharing his power.

Invisible government has developed two types of politician: those who hold office and those who avoid public office except in some minor capacity. The second type is known popularly as a "boss." According to Sait the boss is generally conceived as

> one who acquires power by secret and even corrupt means. He drives, imposes his will by trickery, violence and terror. He has low motives and selfish objectives; sometimes riches or for the pleasure of power. He makes no intellectual or moral appeal to the people and does not fight openly.[12]

In his war on political machines, Roosevelt first made the public really aware of the political boss; though he, with his "big stick" and through the agency of the press, became one of the most powerful of political bosses. His struggle with Senator (Boss) Thomas C. Platt of New York is epochal. He could see nothing but evil in the boss.[13] Their methods were all the same: pulling wires at conventions, trading votes for favors, cornering

political advantage, dictating elections, protecting crime and vice; and all for some definitely selfish end. There is another side. The boss does not create himself, but like everyone else, is to a certain extent, a creature of the situation.[14]

The Boss

The office-holding politician varies his policies according to the moods of the country. The boss is relatively free from such subservence. A strategist and a businessman, he entrenches himself behind the good-will of powerful individuals and groups. Some interests he courts, others court him. He pits them against each other or makes them coöperate, but whatever he does is through personal touch with key people in key situations. He binds individuals to him through fear or friendship, forming a ring, gang, or machine. Placing them in strategic positions in the governmental structure, he keeps in constant and intimate touch with affairs through them. The type of organization he sets up is no town-hall democracy. Indeed the very existence of this illicit oligarchy evidences the failure of town-hall democracy. Yet the oligarchy fits the city which is so much of a mechanism itself that it can be manipulated only by mechanisms which the politician can profitably exploit only in conspiracy (or at least in friendly relation) with these private extra-official interests which have something at stake.[15]

Sait, and also Robert Michels, maintain that the very nature of democracy gives rise to bosses and machines. It is a form of government that has gone to the extreme in not trusting elected persons and as a result, power, if wielded by individuals, must be held in secret or in defiance of the ideals of democracy.

The real cause of bossism is found in certain peculiarities of our political system. These peculiarities are of such a kind as to discourage the growth of leadership within the government. The state constitutions still bear the impress of eighteenth-century Whig doctrine, doctrine that rests on a mechanical conception of government and, through checks

and balances, seeks to prevent any concentration of power. Power, so it was contended, is dangerous to liberty; and therefore power has been spread so thin, so dispersed among various departments and officers, so divided and attenuated that, when the people demand positive action, no one has adequate authority to act. Moreover, within the circumscribed sphere allotted to them, public officers have been further confined by specific and minute statutory directions. The law deprives them of all latitude and discretion in the discharge of their duties; it leaves them no room for the exercise of individual judgment; in the fear of arbitrary conduct it has eliminated the personal equation.[16]

In the meantime the boss and the machine are molding municipal government according to their own design. The nature of the situation is such that they may not be eliminated except through the agency of other politicians, other bosses, and other machines.

Agencies and Service Clubs

Other forces are equally potent in the social control of the city. The Chamber of Commerce in many cities is a government in its own name — initiating law, creating institutions, sponsoring movements, and in other ways acting in the interest of public welfare. It has its standing committees on almost every urban problem or interest: recreation, philanthropy, parks and streets, housing, health, labor, etc. The chamber rates and classifies social agencies, sponsors drives for funds, furnishes the manpower for public-interest movements, and brings pressure to bear on politicians for various public interests. In cities where there is no chamber, the same type of persons and interests will gather under some other name and will work toward the same ends. Sometimes the organization is a Rotary, Kiwanis, or City Club, or the women's club, or a social and athletic club. What agency it is matters not so much as the fact that through such means, extra-official control of the city is exercised.

The influence of social and welfare agencies is great, their control arising through their contacts in cases of social maladjustment. To whatever degree society uses the many varieties of

agencies to adjust individual and group problems it is subject to their control. The agency or institution which serves to keep the person oriented to his environment, and maintains the rest of urban life as a social entity, actually renders a control service. Every cosmopolitan city needs to be equipped with a minimum number and variety of social agencies — hospitals are as requisite as schools, family service as police courts — for which the public pays. They in turn spend their energy in ameliorating the ills of society but at the same time contribute to the control of the individual, the group, and finally the government. These agencies of moral and general welfare may be designated the conscience of urban government.

Funded Wealth

More subtle still is the control which comes from wealth through benevolence. Whether he will or no, a wealthy person can scarcely avoid being an influence in his community. Perhaps his impress is more traceable in the smaller city than in the metropolis of a million. He gives of his money for education, research, and general welfare; loans money at small interest for model housing; gives libraries; leaves money in trust in the form of endowments and foundations. Wealth in this form is gathering rapidly. Although its benefits are many, this manner of institutionalizing wealth also tends to guide and control society. Many agencies are organized especially to fight vices — popularly conceived as drink, smoking, gambing. Wealth, wherever it is institutionalized, becomes a discipline for both culture conserving and culture setting. Reform agencies have much to do with the process of running the city and they are usually supported by wealthy individuals or foundations. In a mid-western city one foundation controls the work and policies of nearly every welfare agency in the city, portioning out each year among the leading agencies half a million dollars. Agencies strive to be included, bending every effort to conform to the standards set by the foundation. In other

connections the power of wealth is turned in the direction of research, both in the social and natural sciences. When research is devoted to a careful analysis of labor problems, specific labor situations, immigration problems, non-voting and many others, wealth is being directed into channels of public control.

The Press

The power of the press in social control is mentioned last, not because it lacks importance but because its rôle is so obvious that to mention it is sufficient. Here again wealth plays a part, although the press is itself impinged upon by so many controlling influences that it is compelled more and more to the unstimulating middle ground. Yet the press is the great avenue of public expression — the one great agency for communication between the ruling and the ruled. The press is faulty, but so was gossip which it has replaced in the large city. Ours is a form of culture which for its refreshment and continuance depends upon the printed page. The whole life of the modern city pulsates in response to the written word by which men's reputations are made or ruined. As an agency for social control it has no equal; and the art of "getting into the papers" what is desirable and keeping the rest out is studiously cultivated by both the high and low. Without the press, and that more recent broadcasting agency, the radio, the whole problem of social control would be most difficult and chaotic. Yet, with them a new kind of chaos is impending because they tend to break down isolation so much that the whole city will ultimately resolve itself into a single discussion group.[17]

The Real Estate Market

Not the least of all the factors that dominate urban life, and that far beyond the city limits, is the buying and selling of real estate. Students of society have heretofore paid little attention to the rôle played by changing land values.[18] A number of

researches are being conducted at the present time at Northwestern University under the direction of the Institute for Research in Land Economics. In the final analysis most changes in the city involve changes in real estate values, if they are not themselves directly the outgrowth of changing values. So responsive is the real estate market to the slightest hint of a projected development that such plans for development have often to be guarded with the greatest secrecy. Much of what has been called "honest graft" in large cities has related to land grabbing. For instance, a city proposes to build a park. Obviously this development will boom property values and therefore pressure will be brought to bear from different sections to secure the site. "Tips" and "inside dope" leak out and frequently when a site is selected it is found than someone high in authority in conjunction with someone high in financial affairs has already taken an option upon or actually bought much of the proposed location.

Perhaps the real-estate associations have been the most influential factors in speeding up the present movement to the suburbs which is disturbing so many American cities. In real estate are found many of the rewards for manipulating the trends of change in the city. Within certain limits these rewards may be the fruits of wisely directed control.

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Select a number of city leaders, and analyze the qualities of each; discuss these qualities, particularly those which seem to be common to all.

2. Is the "strong man," or bumptious leader, more prevalent in large urban communities than in smaller towns and villages?

3. Trace the succession of methods of social control in several residence areas of a city where the population has changed materially.

4. Discuss features of the following statement by Frederic C. Howe, author of *The City; the Hope of Democracy:* "The city has replaced simplicity, industrial freedom, and equality of fortune with complexity, dependence, poverty, and misery, close beside a barbaric luxury like

unto that of ancient Rome." In what sense do the factors named have a bearing upon social control?

5. It is often claimed that the city-manager form of municipal government is suitable for cities up to two or three hundred thousand population, but that it will not do for cities in the million class. Discuss the foundations of this argument.

6. Check and classify the accomplishments noted in the ten years under the city-manager plan as indicated in the chapter. Name other things that might be accomplished. What features of this list could be done as well through political manipulation as efficiently as through business manipulation?

7. Is the frequent contention that purity of politics would return if we could rid our cities of bosses and return to a more simple and democratic form of government sound?

8. In what sense may it be said that private organizations are more powerful in the control of the modern city than are its officials?

9. Why is it so often insisted that graft is inevitable in the affairs of large cities?

10. A few of the larger cities now have good citizens' leagues and similar organizations which give attention to civic issues to advise the people. Frequently these organizations study the candidates for office, and prior to election specify those who seem worthy of the support of good citizens. Study one of these organizations to determine its success or failure in selecting proper candidates and in getting them elected.

11. In like manner study the influence and attempted influence of newspapers. How do they operate and what success do they have in selecting candidates, in getting them elected, and in controlling them after election?

12. Is it a safe conclusion that good government and efficiency are incompatible with democratic principles?

13. Analyze the results of some recent attempt at urban control, such as dance-hall or movie censorship.

14. Study the methods of some political organization, such as Tammany Hall, to learn how it has adapted itself to changes in the city in which it exercises control.

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. *The Challenge of the City*, Josiah Strong, p. 63, Forward Missionary Study Series (New York, 1907).
2. For the present status of political science, see chapter on political

science by C. E. Merriam in *Recent Developments in the Social Sciences* (Lippincotts, New York, 1927).

3. *Principles of Sociology*, Herbert Spencer, Vol. II; *Folkways*, William Sumner; *Polish Peasant*, W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki.
4. For an analysis of primary as well as secondary groups see *Social Organization*, C. H. Cooley, pp. 23–31 (New York, 1915).
5. Among the general books on municipal government are: *Great Cities in America*, Delos F. Wilcox, (1910); *The City: Hope of Democracy* (1905); *European Cities at Work* (1913); and *The Modern City and its Problems* (1915), all three by Frederick C. Howe; *Municipal Government and its Administration* (1923), W. B. Munro; *The American City: An Outline of its Development and Functions* (1916), H. C. Wright.
6. For a muckrake exposé of urban corruption, see, *The Shame of our Cities*, Lincoln Steffens (New York, 1907). It might be supplemented with a reading of William T. Stead's exposé of Chicago in the 'nineties called, *If Christ Should Come to Chicago*.
7. *The New York Government*, Henry Bruère (New York, 1913). A text on the commission form of government based on a survey of ten commission government cities.
8. *The City Manager*, L. D. White (Chicago, 1927). This is a study bringing subject up to date. Also, *The City Manager: A Profession*, Henry A. Toulmin (New York, 1915).
9. "The City Manager Plan," C. R. Woodruff, *Amer. Jour. Sociology*, 33 (January, 1928): 603–604.
10. For analyses of the present state of urban democracy, see "Portrait of an Elected Person," Elmer Davis, *Harpers Magazine*, July, 1927. Also "Democracy in Chicago," Nels Anderson, *Century Magazine*, November, 1927. Both articles deal with the phenomenal election of William Hale Thompson, present Mayor of Chicago.
11. "Novel Los Angeles," R. L. Duffus, *New York Times Magazine*, May 8, 1927.
12. American Parties and Elections, E. M. Sait, p. 334 (New York, 1927). Also *Tammany Hall*, M. R. Werner (New York, 1928).
13. *Autobiography of Theodore Roosevelt*, pp. 152–153 (New York, 1914). Also see *American Commonwealth*, James Bryce, II:124.
14. *God Got One Vote*, novel by F. H. Brennan (New York, 1927). A realistic picture of the ward boss in city politics.
15. *The Settlement Horizon*, R. A. Woods and A. J. Kennedy (New York, 1922). Shows the relation between settlements and the politics of city slums.

16. *American Parties and Elections*, p. 342 (above).
17. "The Natural History of the Newspaper," R. E. Park, *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1923.
18. *Principles of City Land Values*, Richard M. Hurd (New York, 1924). A brief but useful treatise on the subject. Also, M. Rostovtzeff, *Cities of the Ancient World* (Ann Arbor, 1922).

XVIII

FACT-FINDING AND CITY-PLANNING

The Goal of Social Science

The goal of social science is to control society and improve human affairs. The way to this end is not so clear as in the physical sciences because the facts in social science rarely repeat themselves, nor are they so easily discerned. There are too many variables and because of the complicated nature of social facts it is more difficult and often impossible to isolate their elemental parts.[1]

Throughout this text, the thought that society is dynamic has been emphasized. To describe the human community as an ever-changing organization is only another way of emphasizing the same idea. Our conceptions of society must be tentative, and our interpretations of phenomena pertaining to society must necessarily change. What is a fact in one place or at one time may not be true elsewhere or at another moment. In the realm of human experience, truth is transient. New elements are constantly invading what we call the total situation, so that the entirety never remains the same for any length of time, and any conclusions about it are valid only for a specific date. In business, for instance, this is taken for granted; one must keep in touch with the changes, be informed about what is happening. The keener the competition in any field, the more radical the changes, and the more imperative it is that those participating should keep apace.

This imperative need of continuous fact-finding increases with the exigencies of modern society. The requirements of today demand exact methods and information. Every problem is studied in its own terms, and that is the work of experts. In the field of

social science, research has its place in every area of human experience where social control is sought. It may relate to problems of the (1) personality, (2) group, (3) community. Each of these is divisible into many minor fields, each with its evolving nature, and each presenting its problem of fact-finding and fact-coördinating.

Social science as method is itself of recent development. Some of its pioneers are still alive,[2] and even yet it enjoys complete freedom for objective analysis in only a few places. The beginnings of social science were based on a combination of literary, philosophical, and reform motives. Perhaps the earliest of the recent conspicuous approaches to social problems was made by the short-story writers and novelists. Who can say how much Dickens, Ruskin, and Carlyle had to do with turning the attention of society to social maladjustment; or what influence the reform writings of Jane Addams, Lorin Brace, and Jacob Riis had in bringing a social science into existence? In England the artist turned the attention of society to the slums, but it was the more careful tabulator of facts, Charles Booth, who really made an objective study in *Life and Labour of the People of London*. Genetically the works of these people are linked with what we call social science.

Research and the Survey

Social research is witness to the growing complexity of society with the accompanying elusiveness of its stable elements. Performed by experts and specialists, research is a method of applying science to human relations; in fact, research is becoming so involved that it must become more and more the property of these experts and professionals.[3] Research correlates knowledge in neighboring fields, each branch of science being a special approach through the medium of a specialized body of material. These approaches are only angles from which human experience is studied. Since the fields often overlap, they necessarily contribute to one another. Research, then, in the different fields both checks

previous studies, and bridges the gap between studies made in neighboring fields. This mutual give-and-take is unavoidable, and is essential to efficiency.

In a recent article on research, Professor Swift distinguishes between "survey" and "research."[4] The latter term seems to be coming into more precise use, whereas the former seems to have a localized connotation or a popular content.

> A research is a study of a problem generalized from a representative variety of its generalized forms in an attempt to arrive at a solution of universal validity within that field of study. A survey is a study of a local problem in an attempt to arrive at a solution localized both in time and space. (Elsewhere he says that the survey) is limited in the extent to which it may devote itself to the formulation and standardization of new techniques, and its results need not be more than local in significance and application.

We may say that the survey is an attempt to answer specific questions in a local problem with no concern about its remote ramifications. To illustrate: because the need of a solution was deemed urgent, most cities of half a million or more population have made studies of the homeless man. To correlate all these surveys, and draw from the findings the general facts which seem to characterize the problem in all cities would be a work of research. Following this generalized method to its logical end we should arrive at general conclusions which might apply in a treatment of the problem. Among some students of social science, it is felt that the term "survey" is abused, being used in forms of fact-finding which could have no scientific standing. A survey which is made dispassionately and critically should be, if the above definition of research is accepted, a feeder to research, or if it becomes more generalized in its application and interpretations, research itself.[5]

Urban Surveys

The Russell Sage Foundation is at present conducting a study of surveys, to be published as a bibliography of the social survey.

The purpose of this work is to list and classify all the surveys that have been carried on in the cities of the United States. Already as many as three thousand have been cataloged, and the point of significance is that most of them have been made within fifteen years; perhaps two-thirds within the past ten years. They are becoming more numerous and more varied. In classifying such surveys as have already been gathered, the list has been extended to one hundred and twenty-five subjects. Only an estimate can be made as to their cost, but the sum must reach millions of dollars.

The control sought for the city through research amounts to a form of municipal housekeeping. The health, morals, safety, and general welfare of the community, and of groups and individuals in particular, must be cared for. Research carried on by private interests, such as the Bell Telephone Company, or by private agencies, such as the Welfare Council of New York, or by foundations, such as the Laura Spellman, the Rockefeller, the Carnegie, the Commonwealth, the Baker, or the Cleveland foundations, really accomplish the same purposes, namely, to aid the municipality or state in an intelligent and efficient control of society. In its many aspects, civic research is a highly complex affair, so extensive in its ramifications, and so costly, that all the available resources are generally taxed to the limit. In some lines, the necessity for research is so great that there is a growing demand for municipal research bureaus, for two main services: (1) to conduct separate and specific surveys for the purpose of finding solutions to certain problems; and (2) to carry on a continuing, evolving survey. The separate surveys or researches should be supplementary to the larger one. In this manner the research department would serve all the departments of municipal government. One special interest of such a department would be the planning of the city. The city plan, although it may be carried on by a commission outside the department of research, is an example of the type of research in which the municipality needs to be interested. With it are allied many other problems of research.

especially as they relate to the movement of population or things, and the changing use of space.

City-planning

In a previous chapter we saw that the city is a grouping of many inter-related parts and functions, which naturally emerge in the course of city-building. With a normal development a correlation between parts evolves. The parts of any human community ultimately become oriented to one another, but the more slowly they grow, the more leeway is there for a harmonious arrangement to develop. Moreover, when the city expands normally, a similar relationship between the city as a whole and the topographical or geographical situation emerges. In other words, the city adapts itself to the ground upon which it is built, governing its life accordingly. This is probably more true of the old cities of the Old World which developed slowly, than of the modern industrial cities which have been doubling their population and rebuilding every twenty-five to thirty years.[6] Many of our prominent cities were but small towns a generation ago. With such rapid growth chronologically, and with no time to form corresponding traditions, many incongruities have come about. On the one hand, our newer cities have outstripped about every decade all anticipations of growth, while on the other hand, changes in transportation and innovations in building, such as the steel frame and elevator, have radically changed the use of space.

Like a badly-planned building or an outworn machine, the city does not meet the rapidly changing demands made upon it as a service center. Cities seem to have been thrown together, piled up, and strung out as a result of many afterthoughts. Thus with building and rebuilding, changing its skyline and outline, the American city has become a chaos of waste and confusion; vigorous, turbulent, and unguided,[7] only partially related directly to its physical arrangement. The lack of direction and control has given rise to the city-planning movement, now less than two dec-

ades old. At the beginning of the century, city-planning was little more than a utopian dream. Industries were building and dominating the cities. Commenting upon the spirit and purpose of that period, Patrick Geddes says:

> Our Industrial Age in its beginnings, and indeed too long in its continuance, turned upon getting up coal almost anywhere, to get up steam almost anywhere, to run machinery almost anywhere, to produce cheap products to maintain too cheap people almost anywhere — and these to get up more coal, more steam, more machinery, more people, still almost anywhere — and to call the result "progress of wealth and population."[8]

The 99-year and 999-year franchises granted to public service corporations are indications of the lack of forethought concerning the early plans of our American cities. In New York, for example, one railroad company now possesses a 999-year contract on one of the avenues which borders the Hudson River along the margin of the Island of Manhattan. Originally this franchise was granted for a term of fifty years, but a consolidation with another short-line railway, which had a 999-year franchise, was held by the courts to be sufficient cause for spreading the longer term over both tracks. As a result of this lack of imagination on the part of the politicians and the judiciary, one whole side of the city has remained outside the normal area of development. Unremitting effort and expense have since been devoted to dispossess the railway of its franchise — without success. Curious as it may seem, steam locomotives still pull long lines of freight cars down the center of one of the avenues of New York, and only recently has the railroad consented to coöperate with the city in an artistic and utilitarian development of the Hudson waterfront.[9]

Planning and Re-planning

The city planner was not welcome at first, perhaps because he was too idealistic, confining his activities mostly to garden suburbs. However, in the beginning of 1927, all but six states had

city-planning commissions, and 176 cities, with a total population of over 25,000,000, had been broadly re-planned, and the majority of them had printed comprehensive reports. In this group are most of the larger cities, including Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, Boston, Cleveland, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Kansas City, Buffalo, Memphis, Dallas, and San Diego. Re-planning these cities does not mean that they are built over but that their future development will be guided along well-advised lines. No city can be rebuilt by a radically different plan. The street patterns tend to persist even after disasters such as tornadoes, fires, or earthquakes have devastated the city. In the rebuilding, the style of architecture may change but rarely is the arrangement of the city altered. By means of city-planning, changes are spread over a prolonged period so that they are adopted gradually with the rebuilding of the city. The reasons for the general approval of city-planning are many. An economic argument as well as the plea for the beautiful makes planning popular. With urban population rapidly increasing, more people are becoming urban-minded, visioning their future as city-dwellers. If they are home owners, they want their home areas secure against invasions of noisy and otherwise obnoxious industry and business. Also with the rising cost of land and the increasing price of building, the wastes of reconstruction are appalling; some due to short-sighted planning, some to the invasion of unwanted occupants whom scientific planning might have regulated or located in suitable places.

City-planning probably enjoyed its first prestige in America when Washington, the newly-selected capitol of the nation, was laid out by Major L'Enfant. He allowed his imagination, taking its cues from the grand cities of ancient times, to roam over the reddish-yellow clay banks of the Potomac until it brought forth a design of imposing proportions. The plan for the streets to radiate from one large and numerous smaller centers — an imitation of Paris — was patently dictated by military considerations.[10] Unhappily, Major L'Enfant, who so grandly conceived

our one predominantly political city, was honored as prophets usually are: laid in a pauper's grave, he received recognition almost a century later in the form of a military funeral.

Some of the interest in planning arises out of the desire of American cities to surpass themselves or their neighbors. Sometimes bitterly competing with each other, cities are absorbed in skyscraper, population, home-ownership, factory-output, and other races. Although normal, this passionate zeal for greater population, bigger industry, more space, only raises other problems. The business of the city planner is to capture this passion for improvement and growth, and direct it into the proper channels, or at least toward organized construction.

Planning for City Growth

The elements of the city plan are well enumerated in a primer on planning, compiled by a number of national authorities appointed by Herbert Hoover to act as an Advisory Commission on City Planning, and published by the United States Department of Commerce:

> It should include a good zoning ordinance to minimize conflicting and mutually injurious uses of land. It is concerned vitally with movement of all types to and from the city, and within it, and therefore deals with major thoroughfares; street railways, bus lines, and other forms of rapid transit; railways, waterways, and harbor developments; and public utility plants, mains, conduits, and wires. All comprehensive city plans give a prominent place to recreational facilities, particularly parks, parkways and playgrounds. Finally, the plan deals with the general location of public buildings of all types, including the city hall, schools, and fire and police stations. The main features of the plan will ordinarily be stable, but it can and should be amended and developed as changing conditions demand. In a hundred different ways a city plan provides for better living conditions, better business, and a more attractive and agreeable city in which to live and do business.[11]

The time may come when each growing, progressive municipality will employ a sociologist as well as a city planner; working

together these two might be able to deduce certain formulae to provide for wholesome regulated expansion. At present most cities grow under the impetus of the sales efforts of real-estate agents, not under the guidance of scientists. As a result, most of our cities are amorphous, gangling, haphazard agglomerations of buildings, streets, and people. The real-estate promoter sells his lots, takes his profits, and hurries off to the next "development." The city, however, remains a growing organism which projects itself in all directions without rhyme or reason; the cost is heavy. No one who passes through our larger, expanding cities can have failed to remark upon the enormous expense involved in making the mere changes necessitated by growth; the streets, sidewalks, sewers, water-pipes, electric conduits are constantly being torn up to make room for an evolution which might easily have been foreseen.

Zoning and Traffic

The responsibility for the city plan usually rests with a commission composed of laymen and officials, among whom are often the city engineer and attorney. The rôle of the commission is usually advisory although its suggestions are carried out in most cases. In fact, its continuance usually commits the municipality to follow its program. The holdings of the city in streets and other space for public use range from twenty-five per cent to forty per cent of the total area. The rest of the space is in the hands of private owners who are not bound even in honor to abide by the advice of the commission. To develop the improvements on private property according to the plan, the commission has to resort to zoning, a legal sanction, either through ordinance or statute, by which definite areas, specifically described, are set aside for certain uses. Thus private property ceases to be entirely private "power over nature" and "private power over other men" and must submit to uses prescribed by the public.

Virtually limiting the owner of private property in the uses to which he may put it, zoning constitutes an interesting invasion

of property rights, a curious reaction to urban congestion. In general, the courts were slow to accept such regulations, but gradually zoning is being accepted in most states.[12] At the beginning of 1927 as many as 525 cities in thirty-five states had such ordinances. Zoning aims to exclude nuisances, the definition varying from area to area. Nuisances may be noise, smoke, bill-boards and other objectionable advertising. Also by a zoning ordinance a city is able to "regulate height, bulk, use, yards and courts, and density of population" in its different sections. Whether for business, industry, or residence, these areas are reserved exclusively for the use specified. In a residential area, apartment houses are excluded, also objectionable garages. On some streets business is not permitted. Often where residences and business are allowed, industries are excluded. On narrow streets where there is a limit to height, builders are forced to indent each story. In New York, buildings may be one and one-half times the width of the street; the higher the building rises the more its floor space for each story has to be reduced.

In a previous chapter we discussed the problem of transportation which harasses the city engineer. It is the city planner's problem as well. Indeed congestion is serious. Streets that were laid out for two-story buildings now have to serve structures of ten times the height. Walled in as it is, the street cannot be widened at will to meet increased demands upon it, so transportation must be routed, or facilities for speed and volume increased. This means more transit lines both above and below the surface, but as they, in turn, enable more people to enter the city, congestion continues. The solution is to limit the use of space by reserving areas, as congestion increases, to those uses which require less vehicular traffic, and less freight handling per capita. Obviously an industry which has to handle fifty tons of freight per employee each year is more of a deterrent to traffic than an industry handling but ten tons per employee each year, and so therefore should be assigned to the less congested quarters.[13] The survey is the way to discover the maximum freedom of movement for all types of traffic.

Maps

The principal tool of the city planner is the map — a dynamic map of the municipality, always changing as old data are removed and new data are added. Keeping the map up-to-date requires constant alertness. With the total situation changing with each new invasion, and all the parts being altered with the slightest alteration of any one part, the planner's task is one of continuous study and research. Because he is a scientist dealing with data and relationships which are tentative, in no sense and at no time can he talk in terms of absolutes. However, at least a relative consistency must coördinate his plan, which is most effective when he refrains from making it too rigid. Whatever the data or the changes, he is best able to give them objective form on the map.

Social science is only in the infancy of map making, although much has been done in other illustrative devices — charts, tables, curves, and symbols. The map is being used more and more as research in social science breaks with its uncritical traditions. The map permits a view of the situation *in toto*, and of the component parts with reference to each other. It may take an expert to distribute the data on the map and to make some of the more refined interpretations, but in the main most of the comparative information so arranged is intelligible to the public. The map localizes data which are essentially spatial, that is, intensities. An excellent example is found in a study of available play space and the distribution of children being made in New York by the Russell Sage Foundation. Such information is calculated especially to be an aid to city-planning in New York, but it is also available for the layman and for other groups making other studies. Unless such information is displayed on maps portraying intensity, it is valueless. So imperative is the map that most planning commissions spare no expense in the initial so-called "base map" — a skeletal outline of the municipality displaying a minimum of detail.

Incidentally, the map is indispensable to any kind of adequate

fact-finding that involves some spatial distribution of data. Any comprehension of the functioning of the city requires that its life be related to the spatial patterns. This becomes in application a study of natural areas with an eye to the coördination and administration of the socially homogeneous units.

Streets

We must note the distinction between the planned city and the city which is merely surveyed or "laid out." In the early American cities, the "street called straight" was an anomaly, but now all streets tend to be straight and blocks rectangular. Of the old order are the narrow and crooked streets of lower Manhattan and Boston in contrast with the straight streets of upper Manhattan and some of the outer sections of Boston where the surveyor preceded the builder. Chicago with over two hundred square miles of straight streets and rectangular blocks is a striking instance of a town planned by a surveyor. In many other cities, streets run straight regardless of hills, ravines, or bogs — in Seattle and Kansas City, hill cities, we find straight streets. San Francisco has been permanently damaged by straight streets which run up-hill and down, making the most charming hilltops unattractive for first-class residences. Under the present layout, the hilltops are so difficult of access that only the poorest people will dwell there. Could the city have grown naturally with the lay of the land, the hillside space would doubtless have been used to better advantage. Perhaps as a sort of rebellion against this pattern of parallel lines, some city planners have gone to the other extreme of laying out few if any straight streets. In residence sections of garden cities especially, the less formal meandering street seems more the vogue. As for the lines of development of city extensions, there is a tendency to have them follow the topographical contours of the site.

Areas and Divisions

The location of natural areas must be taken into consideration in the city plan. If zoning is to be carried out intelligently, objective methods must be used. Here the urban sociologist and planner have much in common. Both are interested in defining habitation and other areas. The interest of the one turns upon interpreting the life of the area, whereas the other is bent upon preserving the identity of that life. If the area seems adapted to a certain type of occupancy, the city planner sets up barriers against damaging invasion. Defining the boundaries of urban communities — by tracks, boulevards, vacant space, rivers, factories, warehouses, and such social barriers as national and racial groups — is fundamental to effective city planning. The bounds and centers of urban communities shift considerably so that frequent check-ups are necessary. In view of the fact that the city-dweller spends his life in various parts of the city, satisfying some wants here and others there, it is not always easy to identify him with local areas. However, such areas are discoverable, and in promoting improvements the city planner needs to watch lest he cut across the natural divisions. It is also his function to promote within these areas or to make it possible to promote functions which relate to the attractiveness and convenience of the surroundings, to the accessibility of the necessary conveniences — stores, recreational centers, schools, etc.

One of the problems of city-planning as a scientific method in urban control is to bring about some kind of harmony in the boundaries. Once an area has been defined, the next logical step is to secure uniform acceptance of it. Political lines frequently run counter to the natural area. For instance, in a certain city, an ethnic area inhabited by Italians is bounded by a river, a boulevard, a wall of factories, and on the long side, by a business street, on the other side of which is a similar area largely inhabited by Poles. Ward lines enclose parts of both groups as do the lines of the sanitary district — both official boundaries. Within areas,

the practical politician who knows people intimately often divides his district into smaller, more natural units. He is never guilty of mixing people who are uncongenial. These small, natural areas, sometimes no more than a row of houses on either side of the street, have been termed " the cells of the city," [14] and the more closely they correspond to the divisions into which the different agencies divide the city for control, the more efficient they are as working units.

Functional Coördination

One of the chief difficulties — aside from the major difficulty of land speculation and the possibility of profiting from the unearned increment of land values — of putting a program of scientific study and planning into effect in any given city is the fact that the administrative departments lack coördination. For example, the school district may be independent; it may possess the authority to levy taxes on its own account. Also the playground and recreation commission may be detached from the school authority. In that case, one of the prime necessities of a growing city, namely, playgrounds for children, becomes a conflicting issue. If the park authority is also separate, a scramble for space ensues. Now schools, playgrounds, and parks should bear some relation to one another as well as a very definite relation to such elements in the life of the city as congestion, property values, lines of traffic, etc. The research specialists may discover needs, and the planners and engineers may draw up plans, but if there is no functional coördination within municipal government, we may expect cities to grow in as disorganized a manner as they have in the past.

In our previous studies, we saw how the bounds of the city are indefinite, that the social and economic limits do not end with the political, that the leading citizenry frequently live in the suburbs. Often the transportation lines merely terminate in the city, leading to a multitude of points outside the border. Since many of

the developments at the periphery will probably sometime be included within the political limits, the planning of the city must include them. The interest claims on the surrounding territory are rapidly increasing—for roads, playgrounds, industrial developments, urban control of milk and other food supplies, water supply, sewage disposal, market space, terminals, and many other accessory functions. From the residential suburbs appeals frequently come that the planning commission shall either extend its control or proffer guidance. Outlying cities often form their own planning commissions, but more recently central cities have responded by establishing regional planning commissions. The outstanding instance is the regional plan for New York City and its environs.[15] Another is the Niagara Frontier Planning Board, including Erie and Niagara counties, the region around Buffalo, organized in 1925. This board and its staff of experts have set themselves to the following tasks:

To assemble and have available for consultation all the latest and best information on the subject of planning;

To keep informed of all legislation relating to planning and particularly bills affecting the frontier;

To assist in the coördination of public works in all parts of this district so that each may supplement the other;

To bring to public attention any projected improvements in any part of the district;

To assist communities, whenever possible, in securing desirable public improvements; and

To keep its members informed of all progress made toward the betterment of the Niagara Frontier.[16]

Practical City-planning

The recent trend in city and regional planning has none of the earnest utopianism of the pioneers who set out to inaugurate some "noble design." The utopians, however, are still with us. One enthusiast for the "new" city, planned and ordered in advance, has recently written a book called *The Supercity* in

which he describes how the urban community should be organized.[17] He provides for multiple dwelling houses to be known as resiances, an elaborate system of zoning, and a division of functions. He even includes a farm zone in his ambitious forecast, making it a regional plan. He invites his readers to join him in a great crusade to bring about the realization of this dream. From such dreaming, city-planning profits little. It is not likely that many cities will be built according to his specifications, but he at least visualizes many of the pertinent problems. He fails to recognize that the city planner has to start with society as it is and cities as they are; that he must fit to modern needs the poorly-conceived and irregularly-developed cities which are more or less adapted to society. Not an easy undertaking, it demands the services of both dreamers and scientists. Beauty has its place, but the acid test is utility. The following paragraphs by C. J. Hamlin, Chairman of the Niagara Frontier Planning Board, set forth the practical objectives and methods of the regional plan:

> Practically the same principles apply to regional planning as are carried out in city planning. They have to do with the health, comfort and convenience of the people. It is expected to extend to every community on the frontier not now so protected, the benefits of zoning, which assures the proper location of industries and business houses, so that there is no invasion of the rights of owners and preventing the ruin of home districts (*sic*).
>
> Following a careful study, involving the preparation of base maps showing the established and physical features of the land, and topographical data, efforts will be made to secure the best possible development that will provide adequate highways, parks and playgrounds, provision for the great industrial expansion coming to the frontier, the distribution of utilities, and so on, that we may attain as nearly as possible the ideal of a place for everything and everything in its place.[18]

If it functions adequately, scientific city-planning assumes regional proportions. For example, there may be objections to the presence of a major industry which attempts to locate in one of the inner zones of the city, or the cost of space may be too high. Upon appeal to the commission, it is advised to locate in

some outer zone, preferably outside the city limits. In time the industry would doubtless find its way to some such area, but scientific zoning tries to locate functions immediately in the most advantageous sites, saving them the expense of a trial-and-error process. It is a short cut for the orientation processes which would ultimately operate naturally. Of these the most significant are the competitive factors which shift things about and the forces for equalization which tend to stabilize them.[19]

Rebuilding

In its most difficult relations, city-planning deals with the rebuilding of the city, widening streets, condemning slums, model housing. In the suburbs, many satellites and garden cities are to be found, but most of them were built from the ground up; often the plan was accepted before the streets were laid.[20] The real challenge comes when the space has first to be cleared of previous occupants. Often although the structures are insignificant, the site commands a very high price. Property must sometimes be condemned, involving the city in hundreds of law suits. Frequently in the name of progress, old monuments are ruthlessly destroyed. If progress is in the direction of serving the plan, the claim of the plan on the municipality seems to be taken seriously. It is not always easy to say when the plan is being adequately recognized and when its provisions are wise. However, where careful research attitudes prevail the matter of planning progress takes care of itself.[21]

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Twenty American cities, of which New York City is the pioneer, have research bureaus which altogether spend half a million dollars annually "Sympathetically studying the problems of city business, ascertaining facts, subjecting them to critical analysis and comparison," and "helping the harassed official to a better solution of his difficulties." Generally these are privately supported agencies interesting themselves principally in municipal finance and administration. Discuss the

advantages and handicaps of such a research organization in studying and guiding municipal affairs. Would it be more efficient or less than a research bureau operated by the municipality?

2. Compile a list of city surveys and then classify according to the central problem involved.

3. Study a specific survey conducted ten or fifteen years ago with the view of determining what results have eventuated.

4. Formulate plans for specific surveys for given cities. Select a problem, such as juvenile delinquency, apportion a budget, and then prepare the plans and procedures.

5. Select some specific problem, such as transportation, and design a survey plan for securing the relevant facts. Indicate the other social problems which are involved in this study.

6. Distinguish between zoning and city-planning. Study the ordinances for zoning in a particular city. Discuss the main problems with which a city-planning body is concerned.

7. Appraise the social significance of funded wealth set aside for research as in the Rockefeller Foundation, Russell Sage Foundation, and others.

8. Analyze the traffic laws of a given city, and then discuss the various provisions; suggest changes which seem beneficial.

9. Enumerate some of the reasons for the planless nature of most American cities. Discuss the reasons why straight streets may be less desirable in some situations than crooked streets, and on the other hand, the ways in which a city arranged to fit the lay of the land may with changing conditions find it necessary to straighten some streets and widen or lengthen others.

10. Design an outline map of a given city, indicating the various occupational areas. Draw lines on this map indicating the relation between specific areas and lines of transportation.

11. Discuss the relative merits of statistics and the case study as methods of fact-finding. Compare both with fact-finding by common-sense methods or by sworn testimony (legal method). Read for this any text on statistical or graphic methods. Also such a book as F. S. Chapin, *Field Work and Social Research*, or H. P. Douglass, *How to Study a City Church*.

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. "The Social Sciences and the Natural Sciences," Morris R. Cohen in *The Social Sciences*, W. F. Ogburn and A. A. Goldenweiser (New York, 1927).

2. J. P. Lichtenberger, *The Development of Social Theory* (New York, 1923).
3. See "*Social Discovery*," by E. C. Lindeman, *New Republic*, 1925; also the first chapter in *The City*, by Park and Burgess, telling how to study the city; *The Social Survey, Its History and Methods*, by C. C. Taylor (U. of Mo., Social Science Series, No. 3, 1919), has a good bibliography of the subject.
4. See article by A. L. Swift in *Religious Education*, XXII (May, 1927). Also "Research as it is Today," L. Levy-Bruhl, *Science*, 64:483–487.
5. In the same article, Swift notes the test of a survey:
   a. What precisely do you want to know?
   b. Why do you want to know it? That is, what, historically, makes this knowledge desirable?
   c. What data are available and how valuable are they?
   d. What methods do you use in securing and evaluating them, and how reliable are these methods?
   e. Will the results thus derived be of sufficient reliability?
   f. Who will do this work? Is he possessed of the required training and skill.
   g. How long will it take?
   h. What will it cost?
   i. What will be the probable value of the results?
6. See "Mediaeval Town Planning," by T. F. Tont, *Town Planning Review*, Vol. VIII, 1920.
7. The poem by Carl Sandburg called *Chicago* gives the spirit of the American industrial city.
8. *Cities in Evolution*, by Patrick Geddes (London, 1915), p. 52. Geddes calls certain aspects of city-planning "geotechnics."
9. *New York Times*, January 24, 1928.
10. For a description of the Washington plan, see an article by W. H. Taft in the *National Geographic Magazine*, March, 1915.
11. *A City Planning Primer*, issued by U. S. Dept. of Commerce, 1926, compiled by Advisory Committee on City Planning and Zoning, Division of Building and Housing; pp. 3–4.
12. *Zoning and the Courts*, by E. M. Bassett, pp. 1–2. Published by the above-named Advisory Committee of the U. S. Dept. of Commerce, 1926.
13. *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, Sept., 1927, devoted to Planning for City Traffic. See especially the paper by McClintock on "The Traffic Survey."

14. For a brief analysis of the New York Regional Plan and its objectives, see the *Survey Graphic* for May, 1925, also two articles in *Quarterly Jour. of Econ.*, vol. 40, May and August, 1927, "Toward an Understanding of the Metropolis," by Prof. R. M. Haig, are based on Dr. Haig's experience with the New York Regional Plan.
15. See C. A. Perry's article on defining the community in *The Urban Community*, by Burgess (previously cited). In this volume is also a paper by Harvey Zorbaugh on the nature of the urban community. See also *Introduction to Sociology*, by Davis, Barnes and others, p. 455; and *The Community*, by E. C. Lindeman (New York, 1921).
16. *Primer on Zoning and the Niagara Regional Plan*, issued by the Manufacturers and Traders Trust Co., Buffalo; p. 6.
17. *The Supercity*, Robert R. Kern (Washington, 1924).
18. Buffalo *Primer on Zoning* (see above) p. 7.
19. For an interpretation of city-planning from the point of view of an economist, see the articles by Haig (cited No. 12), "Economic Layout of the Metropolis." (cited above).
20. A list of garden towns and satellite cities as well as planned towns is given by John Nolan in his presidential address before the National Conference of City Planning, 1926. Nolan's *New Towns for Old*, just published, gives descriptions of some of the following:

Babson Park, Wellesley, Mass.
Beaver Lake, Asheville, N. C.
Bellair, Fla.
Billerica, Mass.
Biltmore Forest, N. C.
Clewiston, Fla.
Coral Gables, Fla.
Corey, Fla.
Country Club District, Kansas City, Mo.
Fairhope, Ala.
Forest Hill Gardens, Long Island
Gary, Ind.
Goodyear Heights, Akron, O.
Hopedale, Mass.
Kingsport, Tenn.
Kissler, Mount Union, Pa.
Kohler, Wis.
Lawrence Park, Erie, Pa.
Leclair, St. Louis, Mo.
Longview, Wash.
Loveland Farms, Youngstown, O.
Ludlow, Mass.
Mariemont, O.
Myers Park, Charlotte, N. C.
Overlook Colony, Claymon, Del.
Palos Verdes, Calif.
Pullman, Ill.
Roland Park, Baltimore, Md.
San Jose Estates, Jacksonville, Fla.
Seneca Heights, Olean, N. Y.
St. Francis Wood, San Francisco, Calif.

Sunnyside, N. Y.
Venice, Fla.
Westerly Gardens, Bound Brook, N. J.
Windsor Farms, Richmond, Va.
Wyomissing Park, Wyomissing, Pa.

21. For a useful working bibliography and a common sense statement of city-planning see the chapter by that title in *Practice of Municipal Administration*, by L. D. Upson (New York, 1926); the section on City Planning in S. E. W. Bedford's *Readings in Urban Sociology*, (New York, 1926).

XIX

RURAL–URBAN CONFLICTS AND INTEGRATIONS

The Fear of Urban Growth

Commentators on the changing nature of modern society are all impressed, and some of them are alarmed, by the revolutionary transformation of community life. Charles and Mary Beard call attention to the rate at which a rural nation becomes urban. They call attention to the fact that in Lincoln's time no more than one-sixth of the people lived in towns of eight thousand or more, but in forty years one-third of the people lived in urban communities of eight thousand or more.[1] Now, we are reminded by the returns of the 1920 census, no more than one-third of our population actually lives on the farms.

Obviously such a swift change in which people shifted from one situation to another left in its wake a train of conflicts and maladjustments. Indeed at the beginning of the last century Thomas Jefferson pictured the day when people would be "piled high up on one another in cities," living in distress and poverty. Wendell Phillips once said: "The time will come when our cities will strain our institutions as slavery never did."

This is not a new alarm.[2] It has been voiced at other times when a cityward trend of development was in prospect. At the thought of a dominant urban development people have always trembled with insecurity because of the fear that the expansion of the city would be at the expense of the countryside, either by robbing the country of its strength or by disturbing the equilibrium of country life. These fears have not always been without foundation because a growing city does disturb the balance between urban and rural peoples though there is always a tendency to

return to some other balanced relation where they supplement each other in the general round of living.

"The Rural Bias"

In one sense, the three great internal upheavals in the national career of the United States may be regarded as efforts on the part of rural culture to perpetuate itself in the face of onrushing industrial-urban forces. Certainly agrarianism elected Thomas Jefferson to the presidency and signalled the decline of Hamilton and his urban followers; and it was a distinctly rural revolt which brought Andrew Jackson out of the frontier to the capitol at Washington. The Civil War was in reality a war between two divergent economic systems and their concomitant cultures — the predominantly rural civilization of the South and a rising urban civilization in the North. Since this gigantic and complicated conflict, three agrarian uprisings have taken place: the Populist movement of the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Non-Partisan movement of the northwestern and wheat-growing states during the early years of the twentieth century, and the present agitation which may be epitomized as a movement to bring agriculture to the privilege level of industry by governmental subsidy.[8]

Besides these national or sectional movements there are many local struggles. Frequently strained differences of opinion which betray the fundamental diversity of urban and rural groups separate the city and its more reserved and conservative hinterland. In New Jersey, for instance, the rural sections vote Republican and the cities Democratic. In the present Democratic Party the rural and urban segments are incompatible. The two do not think alike. Between the southern "colonel" and the boss of a river ward in a large city, both Democrats, there is a world of difference. On moral issues city and country always divide when the *mores* are being challenged. Prohibition is the example *par excellence* of an increasing effort on the part of country folk to

whip city-dwellers along the moral path as it is rurally conceived. Rural Kansas passed a state prohibition law in 1880. The cities did not accept it until more than twenty years later when Carrie Nation and her followers went about with hatchets breaking up saloon property. Even then Wichita did not go dry until 1908, a year after the State of Oklahoma joined the prohibition ranks. Wichita feared to become dry so long as Oklahoma City was wet lest it lose business.

Causes of Discord

In order to prepare the way toward an understanding of future rural-urban integrations, it will probably be advantageous to consider certain inter-relationships, the consequences of which have a direct bearing upon either rural or urban progress. The country, for example, supplies the city with milk, an ever-increasing and important item in the dietary of growing children. If the milk is not pure, city children will suffer. On the other hand, if the farmer is compelled by law to produce milk under certain prescribed sanitary conditions, who is to pay him for his added expenses? This problem has in many instances reached the level of open conflict. The state, for example, passes a law requiring that all tuberculin-tested cows showing a positive reaction be killed; this constitutes obviously a confiscation of private property without due process of law. Some states provide for recompense to the farmer whose cows are killed. In one state the question of this reimbursement has become a political issue and candidates lay their claims to preferment on the basis of the amount they believe farmers should receive. Cases are on record where farmers have withstood the law with armed force. In Chicago the conflict includes at least four parties: farmers who produce the milk, consumers who buy it, managers and workers in dairies where the milk is prepared for market, and drivers who distribute it to users. The dairy workers and the drivers are organized in trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The producers, farmers, and consumers are not organized. Here

is an instance of continuous conflict, often accompanied by extreme bitterness and recrimination, of which the chief factors, namely, the need for milk and the farmers' possession of milk which he is anxious to sell, should bring about reconciliation. This is obviously a relationship on the level of necessary interdependence which should somehow be capitalized for better relations between country and city. It is a mutual problem. The country sends milk, meat, vegetables, fruits, etc., to be consumed in the city, and urban residents must protect themselves from illness which might result if these products were not properly produced and prepared for the market. On the other hand, city sewage often affects the countryside; also the city's garbage disposal and its water supply. In short, if a decent health standard for city and country is to be maintained, both rural and urban residents must learn to live, not merely in symbiotic relationship, but in coöperation.[4] Happily rural and urban coöperation has been carried to a high degree in various present-day ventures in health work. Cuyahoga, Ohio; Los Angeles, California; Summit County, Ohio; and numerous Virginia counties now have coöperative health programs in which rural and urban agencies function together.

What is true of the close inter-relationship in the area of health is equally true of the broader field of social work. Professionalized care of dependent, defective, and delinquent members of society is peculiarly a city institution. Organized philanthropy may almost be said to be a necessary by-product of industrialism and urbanism. Yet the social diseases with which organized social work presumes to deal are not limited to cities. Indeed a degenerate family living in the country frequently goes on breeding its kind unmolested for generations. The progeny of such families do not merely contaminate the rural environment; they migrate to cities, marry, set up families, and start the process of biological and social degeneration on another plane. Obviously poverty is not to be found on farms in anything like its extent in cities. Still poverty is a relative term. What needs to be known is whether or

not farm families enjoy a standard of living which evolves at the same rate as do standards for urban families.[5] Certainly such causes of social maladjustment as are inherent in mental disease, physiological disease, family friction, etc., are likely to be found in the country as well as in the city.

Insofar as there is conflict between country and city, it is due to different rates of social change. Aroused by more stimulation, the tendency to change in the city is obviously greater than in the country where the contacts out of which stimuli emerge are fewer. Creative and expanding, ruthlessly spending itself, the city sets the pace which the country, reserved and conserving, hazarding very little, follows. Change for both tends to be in the same direction.

Economic Conflict

The point of contact between city and country has generally been at the market. In their trade relations people of all social strata and interests have always met. Since the dawn of city civilization, rural and urban folks have been sellers and buyers to each other. Sometimes conflict has arisen over their economic relations, and often in their trade strained feelings have existed. However, in the cultural conflicts of which we speak there may be the best of trade relations and yet the struggle be a direct outgrowth of these relations. It is said that on the market streets of Marseilles, as in Constantinople, all nationalities brush elbows. Perhaps this cosmopolitanism is even more true of Paris and London. People meet to trade and are influenced by this mutual contact. Cultures impinge upon one another, points of view clash, opinions are shaken, and doubts arise about the most reverenced of customs. Institutions fail to function or become bulwarks of defense against the invasion of anything that threatens to challenge their supremacy. The city becomes the center of cultural conflict, the rendezvous of the iconoclast and the nursery of diversity and innovation.

To go at length into the economic implications of the relations

between country and city would be to emphasize the obvious. Moreover, this is the field of historians and economists, and they are now busy accounting for and rendering account of the material elements involved in the successive rural-urban conflicts. Undoubtedly this is a fruitful direction in which to search for dynamic clues. On the other hand, the more we appreciate the unity of human behavior the more difficult it becomes to separate any single aspect, such as economic activity, and treat it as if it were an isolated field of inquiry. The term "economics" is, after all, an arbitrary symbol used to designate certain phases of human behavior or human experience which are far more complex than the term, in its conventional sense, implies. Man may be observed from a biological, physiological, psychological, sociological, even a geographical point of view, but in man himself are inherent all of these phases and more.

Man is an organism acting within and upon multiple planes, each of which defines something essential concerning his functions and therefore concerning his nature. It is perhaps due to the fact that man is an organism in active relation to his physical environment that so much emphasis is placed upon his economic composition. Yet man's economic relations are prominent. With the increased impersonalization of modern society paralleling the growth of cities, man has resorted more and more to the use of money. Money, according to Spykman, who interprets the philology of George Simmel, besides floating free to serve all uses for all men, tends to bring society out in bold relief as an economic arrangement, and makes of man a counting animal:

> There is another characteristic of modern life which is also closely related both to rationalism and the money economy. That is the tendency of man to deal with his world in terms of arithmetically defined magnitudes. Modern man is above all else a mathematician, a statistician, and an accountant. His theoretical world is to be understood in terms of mathematical formulae. His practical world is to be weighed and measured in terms of quantities of pain and pleasure. His political world is to be run on the basis of counting votes.
>
> This whole tendency is in intimate causal relation with our economic

world. The money economy has made our daily life a series of mathematical operations. Most of our acts involve monetary considerations, and their values are to be calculated with minute precision and compared in their minute details. It is the money economy which has given us a practical world which is to be dealt with by means of mathematical calculations, and this fact has been of great influence in our ideals of knowledge.[6]

Economic Interpretation

Money economy is merely a convenience where increasing numbers live together. For many reasons it superseded the barter economy of rural and village life. It is of the city, but modern society is so complex that no goods can be interchanged between city and country without it. Money is only a single instance of the many factors binding together in the externals these two culturally distinct segments of modern society. For both it affords a common medium for valuing the natural elements and the elements of culture, and therefore becomes an integrating force. In the early days of the industrial revolution, when man's activity in the so-called economic sphere was greatly accelerated, it was even thought that a man as a totality could be wholly explained by the concept, "economic man." Thereupon a utilitarian philosophy arose, aiming to interpret all human conduct in terms of some economic motive.

The chief difficulty with the economic interpretation of human nature and society is its extreme and unreliable simplicity. One may, for example, apply it to the rise of cities and the consequent disintegration of rural populations. There can be no doubt that the main forces behind this transformation are economic; cities arise wherever factories are built, and here are two interrelated facts which are so clearly economic in character that no one will dispute the case. Cities grow much more rapidly than this single economic factor indicates. Once the urban community starts on its way toward increase, its population is augmented by other than purely economic incentives. Many people live in cities because they believe that economic success is more readily

obtainable there than in smaller communities, but many others are urban dwellers because they are pulled by social and psychic forces far more subtle than the pecuniary index. In short, the city becomes a cultural complex to which economic processes add their peculiar flavor, but urban culture is qualitatively different from the rural cultures from which it took its departure. In describing the rise of the American plutocracy, in their chapter entitled "The Gilded Age," Charles and Mary Beard[7] express another objective involved in migration from rural to urban centers, namely, the aim to display and spend, the urge toward what Veblen has so aptly named "ostentatious consumption":

> Since they (that is, the newly-rich) could cut their coupons and cash their dividend checks anywhere, they gravitated to the places where gorgeous objects could be had for money and shown to gaping multitudes, the bravest of the socially venturesome migrating to the most powerful center of accumulation, New York City.

Classes and Prestige

Others have pointed out this fact of the extravagance of urban life as compared with the frugal simplicity of the country. This tendency to gayety and luxury, this "mania for grandeur and boastful showiness" have ever been the grounds upon which religious leaders and moralists have predicted the ultimate destruction of one city or another. These are the drawing powers of the city. Nowhere else can wealth be "traded in" for other values so readily. This is the luxury market. People may gather there in response to the machine and its attendant commerce, but once there, a new mode of living begins. Only the city can feed the social and psychic passions for status. It is the ladder-climber's paradise. Sorokin says:

> Royal or republican courts, authorities, and offices of the "ennoblement," the staffs of armies, high church authorities, political institutions, colleges, theatres, art and literary institutions, manufacturing, or artisanship, commercial and banking enterprises — in brief, almost all

channels of social promotion have been concentrated in the city. Unless he migrates to the city, a man of a humble origin in the country has almost ceased to have any chance to climb. Even in a few cases a man, while staying in the country has succeeded in making money or doing something prominent, such a man, in order to become really prominent, has to get the sanction of the city authorities.[8]

Whether by preference or not, the country man has always remained passive while the city man monopolized leadership. He can meet the situation in three ways: (1) become a city man himself, (2) ape and follow the city man, or (3) oppose him. All three methods tend to be in vogue at all times. People crowd into the city to the point of discomfort. The studious attempts to set up in rural sections the urban pattern of life are being hastened by improved communication. Rural opposition, exemplified in the Ku Klux Klan and Prohibition, have tended to speed up rather than suppress the process of psychological urbanization.

Rural–Urban Conflict

Thomas Jefferson's early suspicions of the rising cities along the Atlantic seaboard were directed partly at the money power but also at the social, moral, and political consequences of urban life. He was one of those who believed that no people could survive that had its strength in brick and mortar; it must be rooted in the soil like a tree. Memories of the French Revolution were still fresh. He feared the rise of the irresponsible urban mobs — people detached from direct contact with the soil and lacking what he conceived to be the superior values inherent in rural culture. It seemed to him inevitable that the liberties and independence so recently won would be soon exchanged for a new form of bondage should cities rise above rural areas in power and influence.[9] The conflict, then, between rural and urban groups began almost as soon as the nation came into being, a conflict which has twice shaken the nation to its depths and has many times brought forward acute issues. It arises in every state whenever it is

necessary to re-apportion the representation because usually such a re-apportionment will mean loss of influence to the rural sections and some gain in power to the rapidly growing cities. Such conflicts appear wherever the large cities exist in number sufficient to influence greatly the life of society. Following the late war when the larger cities in Germany were in economic chaos (as we would expect since Germany is over sixty per cent urban) due to the collapse of the state, the agricultural population took on a new significance. Because the farmers possessed at least the raw materials for subsistence and the city-dwellers did not, an intense conflict immediately arose. Much of the difficulty involved in stabilizing the present Russian government is the result of a rural-urban conflict. The control is in the hands of the industrial cities while scattered throughout the empire is this vast agricultural population which owns the land and submits to a new authority but continues to live as it has for centuries. Cities change rapidly while villages under the momentum of tradition carry on, and so, as they meet the impact of the changing city, there results no little cultural conflict. Generally such conflicts smolder until a crisis arises in which either the city or the country suffers acutely. Then it blazes forth.

We may assume that a rural population of some size will always exist. As methods of farming improve it will probably decrease in proportion to the city population. In some respects it will continue to represent a culture which will diverge from urban culture patterns. Given this set of realities does this premise involve also the hypothesis that the two cultures will always be in opposition? [10]

Traditional Differences

Before proceeding to an analysis of the factors included in the above query, it may be well to ask if it is not likely that a society bound together by similar legal, political, and economic rules, instead of evolving a culture of increasing differences, will develop a culture of increasing similarities tending toward stand-

ardization. Observation clearly indicates that rural culture in America is now less divergent from urban culture than it was fifty or even twenty years ago. Both draw upon a common storehouse of stimulation. The city, as has been indicated in various connections in previous chapters, tends toward greater influence and power, constituting the stimulation center for village and farm folks as well. In some respects their response is reluctant, even negative, but they have no choice but to respond, and sometimes quite unconsciously they capitulate. Uniform stimuli uniformly timed and of more or less uniform intensity make them kin to the city-dwellers. Rural folk wear clothes cut after the fashion dictated by the city. They read newspapers, magazines, and books generally conceived and usually published in the city, ride in the same makes of automobiles, listen to the same radio programs and view the same types of entertainments — movies, baseball, etc.; from the chain stores buy a thousand standardized articles that are on sale at a fixed price in the city stores. The same compelling advertisements catch the attention of each. From common sources all talk a uniform slang. However, these uniform stimuli are received in situations that are not uniform. Backgrounds differ and so we find the farmers of Kansas voting a straight Republican ticket and the farmers of Texas always voting Democratic. But opinions are widely divergent and if the farmers of the United States were to attempt political action along occupational lines today, they would need to enlist the aid of organized city laborers in order to achieve success. Indeed, in many respects the economic interests of all but the upper grade of farmers are today more closely allied with the interests of the unskilled and unorganized urban workers than they are with the merchants and bankers of the villages and towns who live by rural patronage. The wage system of the city is becoming the system of the farm, and the farmer begins to measure his time and value the hours and minutes as does the urbanite. Then, too, tenantry and the tenant's attitude toward property is settling on rural life. We thus have a society in which the urban forces are so

preponderant that many features of rural culture have already come to be indistinguishable from urban culture.

Education

The greatest force for uniformity is probably the school. The pattern of the grammar and high schools, and even of the college is fairly well represented. Uniform standards are sought consciously until it is possible for pupils of any grade to transfer from one state to another or from country to city and take up work very much where they left off. The contents of the curricula vary little the country over; and this fact is often the boast of educators who esteem regimentation as worthy an achievement as mechanical standardization. Education has long been considered the agency that would redeem the farmer from peasantry, but generally speaking, country schools accessible to farmers' children are neither adequately staffed nor equipped, and the character of higher education tends to unfit the recipients for farm life. In their unrest they migrate to the city, the larger market for the better-trained. The notion is prevalent that the superior rural folks go to the city, thus robbing the country of leadership. This may be true in part, but it would probably be more correct to say that it is the better educated who migrate cityward. This is a natural consequence of American education which is shot through with the " I-will-arise " philosophy, underlying which is the assumption that education is wasted on the farm. Even if the education received in the city and country were of equal quality and similar, its environment would be so different that different results would emerge.

Doubtless certain items in the complex of urban civilization oppose others cherished by rural populations. Among the rural traditions which persist, rural serious-mindedness — the qualities which tend to sober and conserve or to restrain — leaves the deepest stamp on urban life. City and country will probably remain to a certain degree the inter-acting, interdependent varia-

bles of civilization, influencing the whole of society by their likenesses and differences. Perhaps of the two the more significant are the likenesses. On the other hand, all that tends toward difference produces ferment and in the end precipitates the necessity of accommodation.

Rural Traits

" Rural population gave the nation its extreme individualism," writes Williams.[11] It would probably be more correct to say that whatever trait of individualism cling to the characteristic behavior of Americans are derived from the traditions set by the early settlers. The truth is that we probably could not say with assurance whether our individualism came from this single source cited by Williams or from a number of sources. In its application, farm family life is coöperative. It is the city which has introduced individualism into the social and economic connections of the members of the family. However, viewing Williams' statement from another angle, we find evidence of individualism in farm life. Urban dwellers soon learned the art of collective action, but in the city the compulsion to group action is imperative. The many attempts to organize farmers on behalf of their raw economic interests reveal a long succession of failures and half-successes. Here and there, particularly in highly specialized regions, such as among the citrus-fruit growers, or the cantaloupe growers of Nevada, coöperative marketing has succeeded. Forced by necessity, farmers have coöperated in the irrigated regions of the intermountain states. The Mormons, mostly farmers, live in small villages and every village is a coöperative community revolving about the ownership of an irrigation stream.[12] In the Mormon community, individualism seems at low ebb, as is always the case where farmers live in villages. Perhaps this exception only proves the rule, since most American farmers do not live in villages, but are scattered on their holdings where each farm is a unit and where individualism can grow at will. Migrating to the city with

such traditions, the farmer readily adapts himself because he finds life most congenial to his individualism. His individualism is the product of isolation of family from family, whereas the individualism of the city is the product of the isolation of person from person by reason of the great mobility that characterizes city life.[18]

The significant rural-urban differences may be designated as economic, religious, and moral. At present much of the cultural conflict revolves about the last two. The idea that sin may be warred upon through the various forms of evangelism has found expression chiefly in rural social efforts. From the rural areas also come many of the great reform leaders and the support for reform movements. Anti-cigarette, curfew, and blue laws, and prohibition are examples. The rapid sophistication of the farmer tends to undermine the support such movements often received from him. Everything indicates that the economic differences will continue, changing form with each new problem in which city and country find themselves in opposition. The differences that identify the rural population as one class and the urban population as another class according to their economic interests, will doubtless persist to divide farmers and town folks into two opposing occupational interest groups. This might be the case in the face of almost parallel characteristics so far as all other aspects of their respective cultures are concerned.

Migrations, Finance, Harmony

Perhaps the most potent factor in breaking down the provincial aspects of rural culture (urban culture has also suffered from provincialism) is the increase of mobility. The average person, whether in the city or the country, is increasingly mobile. Going to town is no longer an event. Even if he shops by mail and with the aid of the catalog, he is reaching out and being exposed to the uniformities of the market. More stimulating and broadening still are the actual trips to town and the physical contact with the

market. The railroad and cheap fares have thus been assets in tying the lone farmer, the villager and townsman to the great city. What the railroad began, the automobile is carrying on even more rapidly. Following the report of the Roosevelt Country Life Commission a distinct feeling arose that rural institutions and rural life itself were decaying. Thereupon, many efforts to "save the country" were initiated, usually by city people.

As the so-called country life movement grew in power and extensiveness, it became apparent to many that one of the chief reasons for the farmer's difficulties was less a lack of resources on his part than adequate credits. By this time in our economic history, credits were concentrated in cities. When city and town bankers began to realize that they were somehow involved in the agricultural situation, they began to appoint committees on agriculture. Unfortunately, the bankers' committees, although specialists in finance, insisted on teaching the farmers how to produce more commodities. However, in numerous sections of the country, bankers and merchants began to realize that there was a distinct conflict between rural and urban interests and that they might do something about it. They furnished rest-rooms for visiting farmers and their families; occasionally club-houses were built to be used by both city and country people. These were, no doubt, worthy attempts to bring about better feeling between the two groups and hence to resolve the underlying conflict, but they were not sufficient to meet the situation. City and country, if they are to go forward in integrative fashion, building a new culture, must somehow begin the process on the level of necessary inter-relationships. Most thinkers now recognize that national development is very closely intertwined in this rural-urban complex. The sociologist's task in this connection is to observe closely the conflict-element involved and to propose experiments looking toward future integrations.[14]

PROJECTS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In what sense is the conflict between city and country similar to the conflict between capital and labor? In what sense dissimilar?

2. Socio-economic theorists, among them Henry Ford, have suggested that the best way to solve the rural-urban problem is to locate small centralized industries in the country; farm labor not when needed in agricultural production during certain seasons would thus be absorbed by these industries. Discuss this scheme from both theoretical and practical points of view.

3. List the various conflicts between country and city in your locality; classify these conflicts according to political, economic, social, cultural, religious, etc., interests.

4. List the various examples of city-country coöperation in your locality. Analyze the steps leading to coöperative action. Discuss the main techniques and processes employed in achieving harmony.

5. In current social pathology the term " rural slum " is frequently encountered. What is meant? Is there a rural slum in your vicinity? If so, what influence does it have upon the nearest urban population? How does the rural slum differ from the city slum?

6. The most populous urban areas can afford a higher standard of public school education than corresponding rural areas. Is it sound policy to equalize such advantages? How could this be brought about by legislation?

7. Select a representative number of urban families and farm families, and make an analysis of their standards of living.

8. On page 49 of a bulletin entitled *How Minnesota Farm Family Incomes are Spent*, the authors, Carle C. Zimmerman and John D. Black, say: " Some families are as well dressed on $200 a year as others on twice that amount. Some families protect their health as well with $25 a year as others with several times this amount. Some get as much fun out of $20 a year spent on recreation as others spending a thousand." What are the factors which account for such variations?

9. In a comparison of the standards of living of farm families and urban working-class families it was found that the percentage of total income spent for food, clothing, rent, and fuel was 73.7 per cent for farm families, and 73.5 per cent for workingmen's families. (*The Farmer's Standard of Living*, by E. L. Kirkpatrick; U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 1466, p. 33) How do you account for this striking similarity?

10. C. E. Lively and P. G. Beck, authors of Bulletin 412 of the Ohio

Agricultural Experiment Station, called *The Rural Health Facilities of Ross County, Ohio*, state at the close of their study that "the people of these areas are in both health practices and ability to pay so far below current medical standards and costs that satisfactory re-adjustment may be expected following only extended and sympathetic aid at a low cost level." Discuss ways and means for bringing about this adjustment. In what way is the urban population concerned?

11. Midway between rural and urban groups lie the so-called suburban communities. What is their relation to each of the other two? Do they contribute toward better understanding between rural and urban people? Do they hinder such understanding?

12. E. E. Miller, *Town and Country*, (Chapel Hill, 1928) is an entertaining book pleading for rural-urban understanding. The author, a prominent editor, would have farmers and town folks get together and talk over their differences. What are the possibilities of this proposal?

13. D. Sanderson, "Relation of the Farmer to Rural and Urban Groups," *Pub. Am. Soc. Society*, 1928, holds that the rapid urbanization of the farmer is breaking down rural neighborhood life, thus attaching the farmer's social life to small cities. How true is this?

14. The rapid rise of cities will ultimately give the city man political control. Will he force urban views on the country then as the country man tries to regulate morals of the city now? Gerald W. Johnson (*Harpers' Magazine*, July, 1928) thinks the city will in time hold tyrannical rule over the country. Read article and discuss.

REFERENCES AND READINGS

1. *Urbanization; Its Effects on Government and Society*, J. G. Thompson, Ch. I and II (New York, 1927).
2. *The Rise of American Civilization*, by Charles and Mary Beard; (New York, 1927), vol. II:206.
3. See *The World Tomorrow* for August, 1926, devoted to "The Farm Rebellion."
4. See *Proceedings of Fourth Annual Country Life Conference*, New Orleans, 1921, for Report on Health Interrelationships of town and country by Dr. Ward Glitner.
5. For an attempt to derive a scientific basis for such comparison, see "Agriculture Now," by John D. Black, in *Journal of Farm Economics*, April, 1927.
6. Nicholas Spykman, *The Social Theory of George Simmel* (U. of Chicago Press, 1925), see especially pp. 206–211.

7. Beard, *Rise of American Civilization*, vol. II, p. 385 (above).
8. *Social Mobility*, by Pitirim Sorokin (New York, 1927), p. 494. This book analyzes clearly the class struggle and discusses the ways and means of acquiring status in human society.
9. For a refined statement of this fear of mobs, see *The Crowd*, by Gustave LeBon (1903). Democracy was to LeBon nothing but government by the mob and therefore undesirable.
10. *Introduction to Sociology*, Davis, Barnes, and others (New York, 1927). For contrasts between cities and rural districts see Chapter VI.
11. *Our Rural Heritage*, by James M. Williams, (New York, 1924) p. 236.
12. See *A Social Survey of Escalante, Utah*, by Lowry Nelson (Brigham Young University, 1925), the story of an inland Mormon village.
13. See last four pages of *Social Mobility* (above).
14. See paper entitled "The Future of Agriculture and Country Life," by E. C. Lindeman, *American Country Life Association Report of 10th Annual Meeting*, East Lansing, Michigan, 1927.
15. For further reading, see the following bulletins:
    a. *Service Relations of Town and Country*, by J. H. Kolb;
    b. *Rural Primary Groups*, "
    c. *Rural Religious Organizations*, "
    d. *The Social and Economic Relations of Farmers with the Towns in Pickaway County, Ohio*, by P. T. Denune (Ohio State U.);
    e. *Some Rural Social Agencies in Ohio*, by C. E. Lively;
    f. *The Marketing Attitudes of Minnesota Farmers*, Carle Zimmerman and John D. Black.
    g. *Rural Organization*, C. C. Taylor and Carle Zimmerman.
    h. *The Social Areas of Otsego County, New York*, D. Sanderson and Thompson.

INDEX

Abend, H., 26
Ability, in city, 215
Abnormal groups, 324
Abram, A., 69
Absolutes in science, xxix
Accidents, number, 313
Adaptation, 29
Adjustment, spatial, 308
Adshead, S. D., 72
Advertising, national, 190
Aged, a burden, 347
Agrarianism, 398
Agricultural hinterland, 54
Allport, F., 221, 235
" Allrightnick," 249
Americanization, 291
Ammon, O., 291
Anderson, N., 65, 89, 260, 331, 374
Animals, as scavengers, 119; domesticated, 7; mobility, 30
Anonymity of urban crowd, 208
Anti-social person, 317
Apartment zone, 78
Architecture and city-building, xxvi
Area a function center, 68; need of scientific study, 86; related location, 72
Areas, " atmosphere," 84; central in city, 72; ecological, 79; national, 81; natural, 87; racial, 80; reflect life, 82
Aristotle, 5
Artisan a craftsman, 266
Artistic groups, 255
Artman, C. E., 65, 106
Atlantic City, 54
Automobile, 323; and decentralization, 145; and traffic volume, 138

" Back to the land," 111
Balance of life, 31; disturbed, 32
Balz, A. G. A., 260
Barriers, distance and height, 20; to man, 40; physical and social, 39
Base maps, 391
Baxter, W. J., 187
Beard, C. and M., 179, 195
Beck, P. G., 412
Bedford, S. E. W., 42, 134, 396
Begging permits, 326
Behavior and environment, 223; instinctive, 281; patterns, 221; patterns as mechanisms, 194
Behaviorist, 282
Bercovici, K., 113, 302
Bernard, L. L., 240
" Best families," 324
" Be there by telephone," 209
Black, J. D., 412
Bliven, B., 142, 151, 241, 260
Bodenheim, M., 89
Bogardus, E. S., 44, 240, 280
Bohemia, 85
Bohemian, the, 254

Bonnet, H., 73
Booth, C., 277, 311
Booster, the, 246
Bersodi, R., 112, 198
Boss, political, 368
" Boss " Platt, 367
Bossard, J. H. S., 131, 310
Boston, downtown traffic, 137; metropolitan district, 51; natural location, 14
Bowman, L., 278
Boyd, D. K., 198
Boy Scouts, 174
Boarding houses, 338
Brennan, F. H., 302
Bradford, E. S., 155
Brennecke, O., 112
Bridges, J. W., 220
Brill, A. A., 333
Broadway, hotels and theatres, 73; types, 243
Brooklyn, Bush Terminal, 85
Brown, R. M., 280
Bruére, H., 374
Brunhes, J., 6, 7, 20
Bucher, C., 331
Building and salvage, 128
Bukharin, N., 45
Burgess, E. W., 26, 89, 154, 209
Burke, T., 37, 113
Business men, number in U. S., 263

Caen, J. L., 155
Calcutta, population, 75
Capital cities, 19
Carcassonne, 9
Carr-Saunders, A. M., 113
Carter, J., 352
Case, C. M., 329
" Cells of the city," 389
Censorship, 366
Chahalis, 31
Chain store, and standardization, 188; increase, 187
Chase, S., 134, 198
Chapin, F. S., 280, 393
Cheyenne, site and location, 17
Cheyney, E. P., 45
Chicago, geographical background, 23; second-hand trade, 126; sewer problem, 118
Child, C. M., 89, 220, 280
Childless city, 333
Children and labor in city, 347; city and country, 230
Chinatown, 84
Chinese and competition, 321
Chisholm, G. G., 65
Church and social problems, 326
Cities favored by nature, 13; functional types, 19; reflect hinterland, 59; sifting power, 57
City and chaos, 70; definition, 26; dominated by resources, 56; doubly dynamic, 204; downtown district, 72; dumps, 120; growth and roads, 8; home of democracy, 358; natural home of man, 42; orderly arrangement, 70; site and location, 8; specialty market, 214; statistical definition, 10
City-building and civilization, 18; and roads, 10
City-dweller, and clock, 193, 230; and wealth, 215; leadership, 405; private life, 348; social values, 232; traits, 231
City manager, 359
City plan, subsidized boosting, 383; transportation and, 389

City-planning, 380; necessity, 180
Civilization, work of man, 4
Clark, E., 187, 262
Clarke, I. C., 302
Classification of waste, 117
Clements, F., 43
Cleveland, city manager, 359
Climate and culture, 23
Club man, the, 252
Club woman, the, 248
Coast cities, 9
Codes, business and professional, 285
Cohen, M. R., 3
Colcord, J., 353
Columbus, O., recreation in homes, 164
Cooley, C. H., 10, 219, 374
Comish, N. H., 329
Commercialized recreation, 164; and culture, 167; and public morals, 169
Commission government, 358
Communication, 150
Community centers, 175; life, 282
Commuter zone, 78
Competition for food, 35; for space, 35
Coudenhove-Kalergi, H., 224
Conflict, individual and society, 322; social change and, 401
Congestion and selection, 75; cost of, 139; downtown, 136
Consciousness of kind, 289
Consumption habits and waste, 121
Control by indirection, 365; of sources of supply, 95
Coöperative movements, 328
Cosmic evolution, xxxii
Cosmopolitanism, 269
Cost of living, 108; of space, 340
Coulton, G. D., 112
Country and city values, 214
Cox, H., 45
Craft skill and local tradition, 18
Craftsmanship, 196
Crime and poverty, 317; and social sanction, 317
Croly, H., 344
Crowd in subway, 207; its behavior, 208
Crowding and family life, 345
Cult of progress, 314
Cultural lag, 306; standardization, 167
Cunningham, W., 177
Curtis, W. C., 197

Dairen, site and location, 16
D'Albe, E. E. F., 196
Dance in America, 168
Dancing schools, 168
Darrow, C., 331
Davis and Barnes, 45
Davis, D. H., 45
Davis, E., 374
Day, J. P., 65
Dayton, city-manager record, 360
Decentralization, 44
DeCoulanges, F., 112
Density, relative, 36
Denune, P. T., 414
Deri, E., 81
DeRodhegude, M., 27
DeS. Brunner, 66
Detroit, site and location, 23
Dewey, J., 203, 264
Dexter, R. C., 134, 310
Dictatorship of interest groups, 362
Dining room, passing, 341

Division of labor, 268
Divorce, increasing, 334; extent of, 349
Domestic economy and old age, 314
Domestic relations, 336
Domestic unit, 337
Dos Passos, J., xxxii
Douglass, H. P., 65, 156, 331, 393
Downtown areas, 72; functions, 74
Dreiser, T., xxxii; on urban movement, 204
Dress business, related nature, 76
Dublin, L. I., 113, 163, 352
Duffus, R. L., 260, 374
Dynamics of modern city, 182

Eating, a social function, 348
Ecological equilibrium, 33; method, 41; succession, 39; transition, 43
Ecology, 29
Economic conflict, 401; determinism, 283; "economic man," 403; motives, 285
Economics and the city, xxii
Education and the machine, 195
End products, cultural, 218
Engineer and city-building, xxv; and transportation, 142
Environment and human nature, 203; cannot explain culture, 6; factors, 29; modified by man, 31; natural, 6; standardized, 186
Environmentalists, 5
Environments, classification, 222
Epstein, A., 331
Ethico-social motives, 285
Evolution of a street, 355
Expert, a definition, 267; dictatorship, 271; imperative to city, 277
Extra-official government, 364
Extravagance of urban life, 404

Fact-finding, 376; and fact-using, 272
Family pattern, 333; privacy, 345
Fairchild, H. P., 302
Faris, E., 353
"Farm bloc," 228
Farmer and his markets, 61; sense of humor, 225
Fears about urban growth, xxvi
Feeding New York, 100
Feminist, the, 247
"Fence," the, 298
Filipetti, G., 112
Fisher, I., 155
Fisher, S. S., 238
"Flea market," 133
Follett, M. P., 280
Folsom, J. K., 64
Food and climate, 104
Food supply, 308; and population saturation, 108; sources of, 35; city growth and, 107
Ford, H., 58, 194, 351
"Four hundred," 297
Franchises and city plan, 381
Fraternal groups, 294
Frederick, C., 302
Free, E. E., 240
Fry, C. L., 64
Functional and non-functional areas, 67
Funded research, 379; and social control, 37

Galpin, C. J., 65

Galveston, site and location, 14
Gangs in the city, 297, 318
Garbage, feeding to pigs, 119
Garden cities in U. S., 395
Garden suburbs, 381
Garland, H., 177
Garrett, G., 197
Geddes, P., 65, 380
Gee, W., 240
Geographical region, 6
Geography and urban functions, 18; and urban growth, 21; correlative factors, 24; of history, 6
George, H. B., 27
Gerould, K. F., 302
Gestalt theory, 274
Giddings, F. H., 302
Gilbert, A. W., 113
Gilds, social basis, 284
Gillin, J. L., 331
Glitner, W., 413
Gloag, J., 196
Going to town, 158
Goldmark, J., 280
Goode, J. P., 23
Good-of-the-whole, 284
Goods consumed in U. S., 99
Gorky, M., 339
Gossip and radio, 191
Government and lay citizen, 361; urban, 358
Graham, S., 44
Gras, N. S. B., xxxii, 13, 26, 41
Greektown, 84
Gregariousness, urban, 281
Gross, K., 177, 302
Gross, M., 339
Groszsiädtisch, xviii
Group control, 319; classified, 298; continuity, 287; economic basis, 284; racial and nationality, 290
Groves, E. R., 62, 178, 240
Guest room, 335

Habit selection, 233
Haig, R. M., 395
Halbert, L. A., 330
Hamlin, C. J., 391
Harlem, Negro, 80
Harris, J. A., 68
Hayner, N. S., 352
Health and disease, 312
Health cities, 19
Hecht, B., xxvii, 23, 83
Hedden, W. P., 45
Herrick, C. J., 45
High rents, 341
Hill towns, 9
Hinterland, city nucleus of, 11; city service center of, 55; influenced by city, 57; sustenance areas, 48; types, 47
Hobo, the, 256, 320; a disorganized person, 150
Hobohemia, 84
Hobson, J. A., 280
Hocking, W. E., 203
Holt, E. B., 218
Home as social center, 342; homestead home, 339; traditions, 336
Homeless, the, 319
Home ownership, 343
Hoover, H., 383
Hopkins, W. R., 359
Hotel district, 73
House and state of arts, 7
Household economy, 107, 338
Housing, coöperative, 344
House work, 340

Houston, site and location, 14
Howe, F. C., 112, 372, 374
Hughes, E. C., 280
Human adaptability, 202
Human ecology, xxiv, 17, 30
Human factor in city-building, 16
Human geography, 7
Human mobility, 30
Human organism, 204
Human waste, 130
Hunter, R., 331
Huntington, E., 44, 65, 213
Hurd, R. M., 155
Hypes, J. L., 66
Hyppocrates, 4

Imhoff tanks, 118
Immigration, 291
Impersonal communication, 208
Individual voter, 366
Industrial age, 381
Industrial diseases, 313; suburbs, 51; zones, 77; waste, 127, 130
Industrialization, 244
Industry and slums, 79; and tradition, 18; location, 18
Inspection of foodstuffs, 96
Instinct, " home making," 341
Intellectual, the, 251
Interest groups, 283
Invasions, human, 38
Invisible government, 367
" Isms " and group cohesion, 288
Isolation, social, 41

Jacksonville, site and location, 14
James, W., 260
Jefferson, M., 65
Jefferson, T., 405
Jennings, H. S., 220
Jersey City, a suburb, 74
Johnson, G. W., 413
Jones, T. J., 89
Junk and delinquency, 129; and slums, 123

Kehr, C., 66
Kellogg, P. U., 197
Kelsey, C., 329
Kelsey, D. S., 353
Kennedy, A. J., 178
Kern, R. R., 395
" Key city," 25
Kirkpatrick, E. L., 108, 412
Kolb, J. H., 66, 414
Kosher meat, 104
Korzybski, A., 45
Ku Klux Klan, 227

Labor leaders, types, 270; market, 320
Laird, D. A., 231
Lambin, M., 168
Lambs Club, 243
Lapp, J. A., 280
" Latin quarter," 300
Leacock, S., 335
Learned behavior responses, 216
LeBon, G., 414
Lehman, H. C., 178
Leningrad, decline of, 12
Lewis, H. M., 154
Lewis, N. P., 155
Lewis, S., 247, 259, 307
Levels of intimacy, 210
Levels of subsistence 311
Liberal churches, 227
Libertarian movements, 227
Lichtenberger, 353, 394
Life associations, 29
Lind, A. W., 156
Lindeman, E. C., xxxiii, 394, 395, 414

Lippman, W., 259, 260
Lively, C. E., 412
London, central, 73
Los Angeles, 151, 366
Lovett, R. M., 260
Lundberg, G., xxxii

Machine age, 179; end products, 180; modern city and, 181; personal skill and, 268; psychological aspect, 183; science and, 184; standardizes living, 181; and the tool, 181; world market and, 188
Malcolm, J. P., 260
Malthusian doctrine, 109
Manhattan, daily congestion, 137; expansion from, 21
Man, a counting animal, 402; of wealth, 244
Maps, purpose in control, 386
Market areas, 139; and transportation, 139; special, 70
Marshall, L., 279
Martin, E. D., 241
Marx, K., 312
Maternal family pattern, 351
McIntyre, J., xxvii
McIver, R. M., 302
McKenzie, R. D., 45, 155, 164
McLean, A. M., 302
Mechanisms and urban speed, 231
Mechanization, 276
Mechanized behavior, 193
Melting pot, 152, 292
Memory groups, 293
Men and women workers in U. S., 263
Mencken, H. L., 240, 353
Mensch, the, 250
Mental defectives, 316
Merriam, C. E., 374
Metabolism, 148
Metropolitan area, statistical definition, 46
Metropolitan economy, xxiv; and food supply, 37
Metropolitan housekeeping, 94
Mexico City, elevation, 21
Michels, R., 284, 302, 368
Migration and succession, 37
Migrations, 410
Military strategy and urban sites, 8
Milk supply, 399
Miller, E. E., 66, 413
Miller, H. A., 302
Missions, types, 326
Mobility 30; and competition for space, 36; and family life, 337; and land values, 141; and social pathology, 308; and wanderlust, 146; horizontal, 152; increase in modern city, 135; within the city, 149
Modern home, standardized, 185
Moore, B., 45
Moral censorship, 170; values and recreation, 171
Morals, changing in city, 217
Mores and law, 357
Mormon community, the, 409
Moscow, recent development, 12
Mowrer, E. R., 349, 353
Mukerjee, R., 26, 44, 238
Multiple dwellings, 340
Mumford, L., 88
Munro, W. B., 374
Myres, J. L., 9

Names and family occupation, 265

Nash, J. B., 178
Nation, C., 399
National advertising, 188
Native behavior responses, 216
Natural areas and zoning, 388
Natural divisions of city, 67
Natural forces, 4
Nature and urban locations, 13
Negro areas, 81
Neighborhood, cultural continuity in, 83; social basis, 290
Nelson, L., 414
New York City, dress business, 76; experts in, 271; food supply, 100; German colony in, 81; location, 13; occupations, 262; sewage problem, 118; standard of living, 102; Times Square, 74; water supply, 96
News, "canned," 191
Newspapers, reform and, 357; syndicated, 192
Noise, measured, 231
Nolan, J., 395
North, C. C., 214, 261
Novakovsky, S., 45
Nystrom, P. H., 99

Occupation, changes in, 276; personality and, 264
Occupational types, 261
Occupations and areas, 264
Ogburn, W. F., 306, 315, 329, 333
Oklahoma, population increase, 36
Oklahoma City, development of, 17
Old age and city, 314
Old-fashioned home, 347
One-man towns, 52, 257
"Ordering and forbidding," 354
Organic trend in structure, 85
Organism as a whole, 274; and environment, 203, 222
Over-emphasis of morbid, xxxi
Over-specialization, 275

Pangborn, W. W., 178
Paris, "map of poor," 73
Park and Burgess, xxxii, 38, 44, 66, 89, 156, 220, 394
Parker, H. N., 112
Park, R. E., 83, 150, 154, 240, 302, 307
Passenger traffic, 135
Pathological mobility, 322
Pearl, R., 198
Peatty, R., 45
Peixotto, J. B., 331
Pennington, M. E., 113
Personality, 281; and occupation, 270; definition, 221; standardized, 193; unique and uniform, 222
Personal loyalty in politics, 362
Petersburg, Va., 56
Philanthropist, the, 245
Pittsburgh, site and location, 22
Planning and rebuilding city, 380
Plants, cultivated, 7; mobility of, 30
Play as social treatment, 160; defined, 160
Play patterns, space and, 164
Playgrounds, 389; and safety, 161
Polarity of urban areas, 68
Political associations, 295; pressure, 367
Politician professional, 361
Poore, C. G., 112
Popenoe, P., 353

Population increase, 34; turnover and land value, 141
Port Arthur, decline of, 16
Portland, Ore., site and location, 15
Port of New York, 48
Potato famine, 33
Poverty and justice, 311; and the poor, 309; bohemian, 255; causes of, 310; line of, 310; on farms, 400
Press, the, 371
Pressy, L. W., 230
Preston, J., 26
Primary control, 354
Private agencies for recreation, 173
Production zones, 54
Productiveness of soil, 20
Professional workers in U. S., 263
Prohibition, 399
Psychic environment, dynamic, 223
Public recreation, 172
Punishment and treatment, 318
Pyle, W. H., 229

Queen, S. A., 328

Radio and local folklore, 191
Radio town, 71
Rainwater, C. E., 177
Ratzel, F., 5
Ravenstein, 150
Real estate market, 371; projects, 50; promoters, 384
Rebel, the, 251
Rebuilding the city, 392
Recreation and service clubs, 173; and social control, 170; and public schools, 172; dynamic aspects, 165; urban emphasis, 157
Reform forces, 366
Regional planning, 390
Research, 328; and sociology, xxx; and the survey, 377; foundations, 379
Residential suburbs, 50
" Revolution " and Utopia, 252
Richards, E. P., 88
Richardson, R., 27
Richmond, M. E., 332
Ridgley, D. C., 10, 23
Riesenberg, F., 145
Rimless wheel, 137
Ritter, K., 5
River cities, 22
Roads and the abode, 148; and mobility, 7; and transiency, 149; urban growth and, 22
Roosevelt, T., 367
Ross, E. A., 65
Rostevtzeff, M., 112
Roundabount control, 356
Rummage sales, 123
" *Ringstrasse*," 24
Rural depletion, 57, 408; slums, 330; sociologists, 229; sociology, 8, 62; standards of living, 109; traits, 409
Rural-urban antipathies, 226, 398
Russell Sage Foundation, 379

St. Paul and Minneapolis, 55
Sait, E. M., 367
Salt Lake City, site and location, 17
Salvage, a business, 122; and welfare, 123
Salvation Army, 125
Sandburg, C., 394

Sanderson, D., 413
Satellite cities, 65
Saturation of population, 110
Saturday Evening Post, 189
Schlink, F. J., 198
Science and culture, 275; ever tentative, xxx; method, xix
Scientist and technician, 271; partisan, 272
Sears, C. H., 331
Secondary industry, 76
Second-hand trade, 125
Semple, E. C., 5
Service and control groups, 286, 369
Service clubs, 209, 295
Shaw, G. B., 132
Shideler, E. H., 155
Shonle, R., 220
Simkhovitch, M. K., 178
Simmel, G., 402
Sin and the city, xxvii
Single homes, 78
" Situation," the, 4
Slang, technical, 265
Sleep and city noise, 224
Slumming, as field work, xxxi
Slums, and privacy, 346; and steam, 145; Chinese, 322; location of, 79
Small, A. W., 283
Smith, J. R., 6, 51, 65, 112
Social adjustment, 275
Social barriers, 388
Social change, 306
Social conflict, 214
Social contacts, 207
Social control, need of, 324; and social agencies, 369; secondary, 355
Social disorganization, 307
Social environment, 282
Social forces, 4
" Social islands," 290
Social pathology, 309
Social problems and the state, 326
Social psychology, xxiv
Social science, goal, 376; motives, 377
Social settlements, 175
Social space, 151
Social status in the city, 215
Social strata and occupation, 269
Social work, 325; sectarian, 327; task of, 329; terminology, 278
Socialization, 258
Society, a symbiosis, 28
Sociology and social science, xix, xx
Sorokin, P., 66, 156, 220, 240, 279, 302, 329, 331
Soul of the machine, 183
Space and food supply, 35; nourishment, 28; recreation, 161; and automobile, 163
Spatial patterns and urban control, 62
Specialism and competition, 212; and isolation, 266
Specialist, a definition, 267
Specialization of cities, 55
Speed, increase of, 207
Spencer, H., 28, 374
Spengler, O., xviii
Spoils system, 367
Sporting tradition, 159
Stagger plan, 143
Standard of living, 102
Standardized products, 186
Standardization, 185; and market, 187

Statistics and sociology, xxi; on crime, 318
Stead, W. T., 374
Steffens, L., 374
Stereotypes in the city, 242; occupational, 264
Stimulation, 148; increase in city, 207
Stockyard district, 79
Strains and urban consumption, 97
"Streams" of supply, 105
Street manners, 212; names, 69; patterns, 382
Streets and city plan, 387
Stripping process, the, 341
Strong, J., 354
Suburb and urban recreation, 54; outlet for urban growth, 53
Suburban dwellers, 51, 266; functions, 49, 53
Subway and decentralization, 144
Succession and mobility, 39
Sumner, W. G., 283, 374
Superior and inferior people, 58
Supplies, classes of, 94
Survey, a definition, 378
Sutherland, E. H., 317
"Swallowed up in the city," 207
Swift, A. L., 378
Symbiosis, 43

Taboos in recreation, 168
Taft, W. H., 394
Talbott, F. A., 124
Tammany Hall, 295
Taylor, A. E., 110
Taylor, C. C., xxxii, 226, 394, 414
Taylor, C. R., 65
Teachers' unions, 365
Tenement zone, 78
Theatre district, 69
Thomas, F., 26
Thomas, J. B., 230
Thomas, W. I., 330, 353, 374, 383
Thompson, J. A., 45
Thompson, J. G., 66, 413
Thompson, J. W., 64
Thrasher, F., 88, 134, 302, 318
Three-part day, 158
Tickner, T. W., 112, 177
Time adjustments, 145
Time factor and speed, 205
Tont, T. F., 394
Tool, nature of, 185
Toulmin, H. A., 374
Town gallant, the, 253
Town-hall democracy, 361
Traffic fatalities, 163
Tramp family, 323
Transient contact in city, 232
Transportation, breaks in, 11; theory, 10
Trends in specialism, 273
Traits, difficult to classify, 237
"Trinity of waste," 123
Truth, relative in science, xxviii
"Twin Cities," 25
Tuberculosis and the poor, 312
Tugwell, R. G., 280
Type person, 257
Types, socially rejected, 256

"Undesirable classes," 59
United States, ultimate population, 110; expenditures, 166; movies in, 165
Unwin, R., 144
Upson, L. D., 134, 178, 396
Urban family, 333; fears about growth, 397; hospitality, 347; personality traits, 234; rivalry,

13; sociology, xxi; sophistication, 232; wage system, 407; services, 62
Urban-rural interdependence, 94; type contracts, 224
Utility, form and place, 97
Utopianism, 390

Vallaux, C., 6
Values, social, 283
Van Waters, M., 331
Vaudeville and Broadway, 176
Veblen, T., 115, 132, 260
Venereal disease, 312
Vertical social contacts, 211
Vice and reform, 356
Village economy, xxiii; a service station, 60; and good roads, 61; tradition in the, 406; the suburban, 78
Voting, 357

Wage workers, number in U. S., 263
Wanderlust, 147
Ward, L. F., 283
Warming, E., 44
Washington, L'Enfant's plan of, 24, 382
Waste garbage, 120; in distribution, 115; in nature, 114; industrial, 130; junk, 122; liquid, 117; rubbish, 120; Solid, 119; sorting, 121
Water supply, 96
Watson, J. B., 353
Wealth and social control, 287; and social science, 246
Webb, A., 88
Webster, E. B., 31
Weeks, A. D., 259
Wembridge, E. R., 353
Whipple, L., 198
Whitbeck and Finch, 6
Whitehead, A. N., 197, 224, 278
White, L. D., 374
White, R. C., 238
White, W. A., 226
Whitman, W., xvii
Wilcox, D. F., 374
Wilson, R. M., 280
Winslow, T., 125
Wirth, L., 66, 87, 147, 156
Wissler, C., 219
Witty P. A., 178
Williams, J. M., 241, 409
Williamson, S. J., 178
Wood, A. E., 332
Woodruff, C. R., 374
Woods, R. A., 178
Woolston, H. B., 233, 260
Woman and child-bearing, 351
Women, detached, 338; in trades and professions, 248
Women's urban groups, 296
Wright, H. C., 374

Young, K., 220, 260

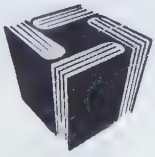
Zimmerman, C. C., 240, 412, 414; on migration, 59
Zones of residence, 75; industry and commerce, 76
Zoning, and city plan, 383; and invasion, 38; purpose, 384; and traffic, 384
Zorbaugh, H. W., 89, 395

Treasure of Books

Under One Roof

Demand Any Rare Book at

www.facsimilepublisher.com



Demand Any Rare Book at:

www.facsimilepublisher.com

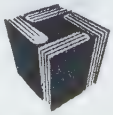
if not available, give information,
our team will search and update you.

Promote Knowledge:

If you have any rare book
which is not available at
www.facsimilepublisher.com,
offer it to other readers so that others can also be
benefitted with your cooperation.
The book will be printed with your courtesy.

Print & Publish:

If you wish to get your book printed or published,
we have the service for you.

Customization on Demand:

We offer customization of books
as per the demand of the customer.